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ART. I.—GERMAN IDEALISM.

1. *Immanuel Kant's Werke: sorgfältig revidirte Gesamtausgabe, mit einer Vorrede.* Von G. HARTENSTEIN. 10 Bände. (Leipzig. 1838-39.)
2. *G. W. F. Hegel's Werke.* Vollständige Ausgabe durch . . . P. MARHEINEKE [and others]. 18 Bände. (Leipzig. 1832-40.)
3. *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung.* Von ALBRECHT RITSCHL. (Bonn. 1870-74.)
4. *Ueber das Verhältniss des Bekenntnisses zur Kirche: Ein Votum gegen die neulutherischen Doctrinen.* Von ALBRECHT RITSCHL. (Bonn. 1854.)
5. *Albrecht Ritschl. Gesammelte Aufsätze.* 2 Bände. (Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig. 1893-6.)
6. *Nietzsche's Werke.* (Leipzig. 1895.)
7. *The Truth of Religion.* By RUDOLF EUCKEN. Translated by W. TUDOR JONES. 'Theological Translation Library,' Vol. XXX. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1894.)
8. *Historische und politische Aufsätze, vornehmlich zur neuesten deutschen Geschichte.* Von HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. 1865. Neue Folge, 2 Theile, 1870. Fünfte vermehrte Auflage. 4 Bände. (Leipzig. 1886, 1897.)

9. *What is Christianity?* By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated into English by T. BAILEY SAUNDERS. Third and revised Edition. 'Crown Theological Library,' Vol. V. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1903.)
10. *Germany and England.* [Reconstructed from Notes of Lectures.] By J. A. CRAMB. (London: John Murray. 1914.)
11. *To the Christian Scholars of Europe and America* [containing the Address of the German Theologians to the Evangelical Christians Abroad]. (Oxford: at the University Press. 1914.)

WAR is an effort in which every faculty is strained for a success, swift, as we measure life, and in any case tangible and confessed. It allows scant time for evasion, and short mercy for pretence. Many things are unheard amidst its din, or hidden under its mud, yet it passes a judgement, rough and not always complete, but searching and singularly truthful upon the ideas and motives which animate us. This war in particular has brought us so many surprises, and we have all had to learn so much, that there is something mean in taunting the other man about his pre-war views. But then one ought to be quite frank oneself in avowing a change, for it is an even meaner thing to make pretence that one always was really on the side which is now proved right, or has become popular. One need not be ashamed at having learnt; but one ought to be clear just what one has changed, and what are the new facts which justify the change.

From this point of view, the journalistic attempts to belittle German science beget a certain impatience. Surely the course of chemical, biological and historical research has not been altered by the invasion of Belgium or the sinking of the *Lusitania*, that these contemptuous estimates should be brought up now. Of natural science I am not competent to judge, but I believe I am right in saying that the scientific world has accepted the German contribu-

tions quite simply for what they were worth, as it did the rather more brilliant French contributions. In history, the Germans have been beyond all comparison our superiors, but again, we followed intelligently as we had a right to do. Science has no frontiers. If the only adequate work on the Anglo-Saxon Laws comes from Germany, that is discreditable to us, but it does not discredit the work.

Here however I propose to consider only philosophy and theology, in which Germany has done far more than take an honourable share in a common pursuit; she has maintained an almost exclusively dominant influence. It has been said that the Germans lacked originality: yet among philosophers in any way modern there are no names equal in general repute to those of Kant, Hegel and Nietzsche. In England we have had no original philosophers since the Eighteenth century, unless one counts the Utilitarians or Herbert Spencer. Almost all our best known men have followed the German tradition, or developed its lines. In theology, there is a small school of essentially English criticism, following Lightfoot, and there is a strong Tractarian party, which is conservative; but the general movement of recent thought has been so entirely under German influence that it has been almost impossible for anything else to get a hearing.

Philosophy and theology, however, differ from the other subjects referred to in that they cannot be studied as pure sciences in a quite abstract or detached spirit. They have a direct bearing on life and must be judged accordingly. One ought to expect one's philosophy and theology to have an influence on war, even if it should not be quite easy to trace. If at an hour like this they have no power or guidance, it would suggest that they had been unreal.

To anyone having a superficial acquaintance with recent German theology the outbreak of the war-spirit seemed incredibly strange. Probably the most influential among recent German theories has been that put forward by Schweitzer, but far the most striking personalities are those of Eucken and Harnack. In *What is Christianity?*

Harnack has insisted that the one centre of the teaching of Jesus was its emphasis on love as opposed to legalism. For the sake of love, Harnack wanted to get rid of the useless 'theology' of our Creeds. Eucken was deeply concerned over the growing materialism of civilization. He was the prophet of 'the spiritual.'

We, very conscious of our need of such teaching, were also dimly conscious of the growing sense of national animosity and self-assertion in Germany, and of the growing materialism, though we had no conception how far these things had grown. There seemed to us a huge gulf between Goethe, Kant, Hegel, on the one side, and Nietzsche, Treitschke, Bernhardt, on the other. The horrors of Louvain, Termonde and Northern France shewed that the gulf was not a mere difference of words and theories; it was a whole difference of practical belief and conduct. Yet from the very outset of the war, we have been given cause enough to suggest the need of reconsidering our attitude. The religious leaders of Germany began with an appeal to the Evangelical world on behalf of the outraged innocence of their country. A little later some of them, including Dr. Harnack and Dr. Dryander, joined with certain leading politicians, soldiers like Von der Goltz, commercialists like Herr Ballin, in *The Truth about Germany*, an enthusiastic celebration of German righteousness and success. The religious signatories are quite unconscious of any gulf between them and their militarist associates. Neither Belgium nor Armenia nor the *Lusitania* nor the poison gases have called forth one word of question. In all alike, Germany has been so entirely and necessarily in the right that there could be no room to question anything that comes from her side.

Surely this by itself suggests that we had misunderstood the German philosophical and theological mind just as we had misunderstood the political mind. In both cases, the facts were before us, but in both cases the truth was so strange to us as to be incredible. We thought we saw two Germanies, and two opposed lines of thought—one deeply spiritual, the other cruel and materialistic.

Professor Cramb, on the other hand, in his book published just with the beginning of the war, emphasized to us the essential solidarity of German thought. To Germans, Nietzsche is as much part of the continuous *Kultur* as Kant and Hegel. The differences in point of view are matters of detail. Bernhardi was not of course a philosopher, and Treitschke was an historian and a political philosopher, but both also reflect the dominant ideas which are common to all.

We had not grasped this, partly because we were not accustomed to dealing with ideas in this way. *Kultur* means to a German the ordering of life according to an ideal consciously realized by the mind: in other words, knowing what you are at. Culture to an Englishman means the refining, furnishing, and decking out of the mind itself, for its own sake, and without any necessary consequences following. 'Ruthlessness' to a German means simple loyalty in following an idea. It has of course nothing necessarily to do with cruelty. If you have a theory that potatoes should always be boiled, you boil potatoes 'ruthlessly' when you boil them on every occasion, regardless of consequences. To an Englishman, ruthlessness is inconceivable; partly, because he is too honest to follow an idea without watching to see whether it applies, but much more because, while there are English instincts and moral habits, Englishmen hardly ever have any ideas to follow. We take our aims for granted, and as we never define what they are, we never ask what they require. England has no *Kultur*: in other words, we do not know, or want to know, what we are at.

This is the reason for the superiority of German learning. A multitude of students followed research in every field, hunted facts as commercial men hunt profits, because they were building up a system, in which everybody was respectfully interested. Except in natural science, our learning, for the most part, was never more than an amusement of the learned class, in which the common man was disrespectfully uninterested. In the theological sphere, the accumulating, ordering, and interpreting of facts, known

as 'criticism,' scriptural or historical, was essentially German. Some of our theological writers, such as Professor Kirsopp Lake, used the method to draw conclusions of their own; but the great majority did little more than popularize the German results, although these were in conflict with the traditional beliefs of Christianity, and involved some remarkable 'reconstructions.'

Results and conclusions are of two kinds. There are, first, the critical results proper, that is the establishment or suggestion of certain or probable facts. Most of us have no reasonable doubt that critical method has brought up quite enough evidence to make a reconsideration of traditional thought necessary. Those who would not face the necessity simply dropped out of the intellectual running. We recognized that it was virtually proved that there was a common basis for the Synoptic Gospels, which did not contain an account of the Virgin Birth. Historically, it was no longer possible to quote Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers as if they saw exactly alike.

Secondly, however, we have to interpret our facts according to some theological theory, and this interpretation brings into play a whole mass of other considerations. Every criminal court knows that even the best established facts can be interpreted in many ways. In the instances given, we cannot at once infer that the Virgin Birth was a later legend, or that the early Christian belief was quasi-Arian, without asking (*a*) what was the real content of that belief, (*b*) how far did men hold it without realizing its fulness, (*c*) whether the critical facts are not equally or better interpreted in the sense of a growing clearness and definition of meaning than of a development by extraneous addition. The facts men recognize most easily are always those which they can explain most readily, and our English critics failed to see that the German 'reconstructions' were based on the dominant idea of the German mind, which is expressed in all its philosophy.

We failed to see this, partly because whatever philosophy we had was itself German and saturated with the same German idea. But we failed far more for the reason given

above, that we are so unused to following ideas, unless they are thrust on our notice, that it never occurs to us to look for them. If we had done so, I am fairly confident we should have rejected the idea and the inference drawn by its means. It might do well enough as an intellectual plaything,—and an Englishman seldom uses Philosophy in any other way,—but, if we had seriously realized its meaning, we should have resented the application. My object here is to shew what this underlying idea of German philosophy has been, to shew how it worked upon theology, how it lent itself to the ideals of militarism and frightfulness so consistently that the theological professors were equally unable and unwilling to disown them.

At the same time this German idea is not easy to explain adequately. In its apparently obvious sense, it will seem to blunt Englishmen absurd, but to philosophers that obvious meaning is a mere caricature. On the other hand, to discuss it fully would require a philosophical treatise, which would lead us away from our object. Personally I think the statement I give is not unfair to the philosophers concerned, but I shall not try to justify it. We are not here concerned with the theories as held by philosophers, but with their effect on the general course of German life and conduct. From this point of view, we may be content with a simple and even crude statement, for the popular form or use of a theory is always somewhat different from the form or use which the philosopher himself contemplated.

In the Eighteenth century English philosophers notably were discussing the problem of human knowledge. Hume took up a position of philosophical scepticism—All we really know is a series of disconnected impressions occurring in our minds. It is impossible for us to tell whether they are like outside things or not. A little later Kant replied—Disconnected impressions are not knowledge. In order to make knowledge we have to connect them by means of certain ideas, such as Space, Cause and so on, and we find these ideas in our minds. Our thinking and reasoning is a process by which we impose our ideas on nature. Kant admitted more or less hesitatingly, that the 'real things'

(‘things-in-themselves’) existed outside our minds, but, since they are outside, of course they are unknown. The mind, with its ideas, is the centre of its own world. That is what we mean by Idealism.

This however applied only to Pure Reasoning, which dealt with abstract truth as in Pure Science. The Practical Reason was a higher faculty, because it dealt with Reality, that is, with real good. The only thing good-in-itself is the Will, so that every reasonable will, one’s own or that of others, is an end in itself. Finally, therefore, the law of good is the universal law, implied by the systematic combination of all wills.

To later Idealists Kant’s position seemed inconsistent and half-hearted. Granting the independence of the mind, what was the point of admitting an unknown reality beyond it? If we know nothing about it, we do not know enough to say it is there. We are concerned, we can speak, only about what we do know—that is, reality and truth, as they exist for mind.

If anyone will take the trouble to look at this theory for five minutes, he will see that it does explain our knowledge very nicely. We really do form our ideas, or make our theories, according to the conditions in our minds, which are thus the centre of our own ordered world. The collective ‘we,’ English or German, have made a collective English or German world of our collective own. Similarly, each one of us has a personal world, partly made out of the collective world, and partly made out of his own private ideas.

But if this theory explains our knowledge, it does not explain our ignorance; if it explains how we make an ordered world, it does not explain the disorders which remain, or which so constantly recur in it. Of course, it is obvious that we do not know what is beyond our knowledge, but we do know that there is something beyond, which constantly does, and always may, break in on our ideal world, although, as we say, we had ‘no idea’ it was there. The philosophers were so much concerned about knowledge, perhaps all the more because they knew so much, that they missed the significance of those irregular

happenings which are not knowledge at all, but disruptive of knowledge, without which, nevertheless, what we call knowledge would not exist. In fact, if we ask 'How do we know? How do we reach the truth?' the proper answer is that we cannot reach it in the true sense of knowing. We can only form theories and opinions of a partial and tentative kind. Nevertheless we cannot say that the truth is altogether beyond us. If we cannot reach the truth, the truth can reach us. Certainly we make theories and impose them on 'Nature.' To some of them, Nature submits smiling, and others she presently breaks in pieces. We do make our own worlds, but it is woe to us if we make them wrong.

The difference between the English and the German mind can be very well expressed by two philosophical formulae. The Prussian Kant said 'We impose our ideas on Nature.' The English Bacon said 'We rule Nature by obeying her.' But the two sayings have had a very different influence. The Germans, philosophers and all, have followed Kant with patient sincerity, first to their great success, finally to their complete undoing. Englishmen for the most part have been too self-willed to take the trouble to obey anything, and the English philosophers, left without support, fell under the dominance of the more massive German system. German philosophy, therefore, is Idealist because Germans think so much of their ideas, and Germans think all the more of their ideas because German philosophers have demonstrated to their satisfaction the truth of Idealism. Our English philosophy schools are also idealist, but English people, when they think at all, do not think idealistically. Our philosophy has therefore no influence on our common life.

That this German philosophy is really an effective influence in Germany is evident from the way in which the Government supports and uses the professoriate as its main agent in the training of the people. And it is evident enough from simple observation. However strange it may be to us, we can all see that Germany is making war for an idea. And that idea is what we called 'Idealist.' German

conduct of the war has all the strength and the weakness which belong to the Idealist theory. We all admit and wonder at German 'thoroughness.' It is the thoroughness of a man who, because he believes in ideas, takes the trouble to work them out and apply them. Yet his mind has exactly that weakness which belongs to idealism. If things happen in his world, or if people do what is, not in accord with his ideas, he is utterly puzzled and indignant as if they were not playing the game.

German Idealism, like all other theories, undergoes certain changes as it passes from the hands of the philosophical professors, before it can be adapted to the uses of practical people. It loses many of the refinements and subtleties by which the philosopher evades, or guards it from, unpleasant consequences, for professors are a civil and soft-spoken race. If it becomes more crude, it also becomes more trenchant. I have pointed out a weakness in the theory as such. There is also a part which the philosophers left insufficiently explained and developed. 'Things do not exist in themselves : they exist in and for mind.' So far as it goes that is good philosophy, since there is no ultimate meaning for matter. But the philosophers in general have never clearly grappled with the question—'In *whose* mind do things exist?' All their arguments were based on an examination—Kant called it a 'Criticism'—of human knowledge. It might seem as if they meant it to be equally true of all our minds, but that would be absurd. No doubt we all have our own 'ideas,' and they are very different. We all make up our own little mental worlds, but nobody seriously supposes that they are all equally 'real' merely because we so think them. If they were, there would be nothing to study ; there would be no Education and no professors. Nor can the 'real world' be merely the common mind of most people, for if so, the professors would have to learn what common people thought instead of teaching them what they ought to think. Both these would be deplorable results.

The true 'reality' is not the collective mind of a majority of people, but the collective mind of system, that

is, an organized idea, which the common mind must learn and assimilate. This is actually stated in Kant's most final conclusion—'The law of good is the universal law implied by *the systematic combination of all wills.*'

Here, then, the State and the professors were at one. The Professors expounded the principle on which Prussianism rests. The Drill-sergeants only completed that systematizing of wills which the educationalists began. The professors justified the principles on which the officials worked, for the systematic combination of all wills can be nothing else but the State, and the State is, therefore, its own 'law of good.' This is the precise position of Treitschke. It makes a somewhat serious modification in the position of Kant, who was thinking of 'humanity,' but if the Kantian theory is to have any meaning in life, the modification is inevitable. The State does offer an effective combination of wills, and Humanity does not. Even the Hague Conference was only a conference of States, and the futility of the 'humanity' theory is measured by the industry with which neutral countries in this war wash their hands.

The multitude of States however presents us with the same difficulty as the multitude of individuals. We have all our own ideas; and so have the States. Which then is the 'law of good'? Treitschke met the difficulty quite honestly. No one can decide. There is no one law which is good for all. Each State is a law to itself. 'But the mind imposes its ideas on Nature.' The true 'mind' in the fullest sense is the State, and 'Nature' is the surrounding world, that is, all the other States. Every State is, therefore, aggressive, and the State which succeeds in imposing itself, thereby proves the superior 'goodness' of its idea. Thus metaphysical idealism finds itself in political accord with biological evolution and the survival of the fittest. War is the means by which the relative superiority of ideas is practically tested. Here we may see how much Treitschke has departed from Kant, for Kant was a pacifist, and hated war. Yet Treitschke was only applying Kant's principle 'ruthlessly,' that is, to a consistent conclusion for practical life.

As a matter of fact, no German could help seeing that as this philosophy of idealism was made in Germany, so in Germany only was it understood and fully carried out. In the full sense it only applied to Germany. This is always the natural way of taking the argument. If we reason as individuals, and I say 'Things exist in, for, according to, Mind,' and you ask 'Whose Mind?', I naturally mean 'Mine.' But if you say 'Oh, but my ideas are different,' I can only reply 'Your ideas are foolish and don't count.' If we reason from the 'combination of ideas and wills,' and ask the same question, we answer in the same way—'Ours,' and if other peoples do not agree with us they are 'decadent.' 'Our idea,' or *Kultur*, which we call Germanism, *Deutschthum*, has gone forth to impose its 'law of good' upon the world, exactly as Kant bade it do, although the great teacher, who was quite a well-meaning old gentleman, hardly foresaw the consequences of the theory he was imposing on the world with such immense self-satisfaction.

Frightfulness may seem to us a stupid and disastrous way of imposing one's ideas. It may perhaps have kept Greece and Roumania from joining the Allies, but it is the one thing which has kept all parties in England steadfast. The error of judgement, however, granting it is one, is still explicable. Treitschke confined his theory to politics, and held the Christian idea of morality as still valid between individuals, though not between States. But such limitation was impossible, and unpractical. When Nietzsche denounced Christian ethics altogether, he was only carrying the same theory a stage further to its proper conclusion.

'The mind is the centre of its world.' Only the American Pragmatists have ventured in some degree to apply that principle to pure individualism. Nietzsche saw rightly that most men are quite incapable of any consistent effort of creation. They take the world as they find it, and are content to rub along with it as easily as they may. They are therefore the 'slaves,' with a slave morality. Only the superior caste seeks to impose its ideas with the 'will-to-power'. It is the Super-man who, with the true creative

mind, supported by the aristocracy of ruling force, makes a world.

The extent of Nietzsche's influence has been much disputed. Somehow even Germany herself could never quite accept the Kaiser as the missing Super-man, and Nietzsche was not altogether approved by the authorities, because he would not accept 'the State' as filling the place; he even scoffed at Prussianism. The Nietzschean theory, whether or not it was the source, was at least the expression, of what was generally in men's minds, for it filled the gap Treitschke had left. Allowing that the State—of course the German State—must be ultimately the mind which is to be imposed on the world, it yet remains for each individual, who wants to feel he has a place among the superior natures, to 'impose himself' (*sich imponieren*) so far as circumstances permit. The private soldier imposes himself on the civilian, and the non-commissioned officers on the privates, and the officers on them all. The ideal digs its way through all classes of civil life as described to us by observers. Each man swaggers, or, as we say, 'lords' it, and expects others to grovel, 'rolls his eyes' if the groveling is not forthcoming, and of course grovels in his turn. I do not understand our observers to mean that all Germans are like this; what they describe is the accepted and growing mode.

All moral practice and philosophy alike are distracted over a primary question—Is pride a vice or a virtue? Is the true law of life self-sacrifice or some form of self-seeking? Does the true ideal lie in the direction of humility and penitence, or of self-assertion and self-satisfaction? Christianity is pledged throughout to one answer, heathenism to the other, and this German Idealism with heathenism idealizes self-assertion, modified for the individual only by submission to the State, which is our magnified self, worthy of a magnified pride.

It has seemed strange that Germany as a Christian Power should have allied itself with Mohammedanism. The reasons were no doubt political, yet it is worth noting that both have the same ethical system, with power and pride

as their twin ideals. And of all motives in life, none is so terribly and swiftly effective as pride ; none is so furtive and slow in the attainment of its fulness as humility. Pride is swift, because it is a natural lust, and humility is slow, for we can make progress in it only as we subdue the lusts of self. All lusts, however, have this quality—that by indulgence they grow beyond reason, and finally beyond all control. German Idealism justified the pride of human will, and that pride reveals itself as will-to-power, and will-to-power imposes itself by calculated ‘frightfulness,’ whence it rushes down into a bestial gloating over senseless cruelty.

Kantism has travelled a long way from Kant before it gets to this. There are plenty of stopping-places where decent folk get out, and junctions where one can go off in wholly different directions, but this after all is a continuous line which we have been studying. Many philosophers have planned and surveyed it : soldiers and diplomatists have worked like navvies in laying it : commercialists financed it, and Government officials direct the traffic. I admit that the devil alone arranged for that last downhill run into mere savagery, but it was the obvious terminus. There is no break of gauge or change of carriages, and we see how many, including the directors, keep their seats to the end without any apparent consciousness that they have gone further than they intended.

Most of the passengers know as little of the philosophy of what is happening as the ordinary passenger knows of the engineer’s mathematics ; but there is one way in which philosophy reaches everybody, since everybody at least has theories about religion, and religious theories are the practical form of which metaphysics is the abstract form. Kant himself was greatly religious. From the very beginning, God, freedom and immortality were the three dominant ideas to which his mind was directed ; but it was Hegel who saw what was really missing in Idealism, and turned the new philosophy effectively in the religious direction. He saw well enough that the mind, for which and according to which things exist, was not our mind in the usual sense

of our knowledge, or understanding, but the Absolute Mind. If Hegel had realized that he was talking about God, if there had been any true fear of God in him, he might have wrought some deliverance. As it was, he meant nothing more than a quasi-Pantheistic Mind-in-general, which we, in our highest philosophical attainment—and of course Hegel himself as the highest of philosophers—were according to our degree capable of reaching. When Professor Eucken says that ‘religion does not consist in awaking to God as a personal Saviour, but in consciousness of the absolute spiritual life, and identifying oneself with it,’ except in the substitution of ‘spiritual’ for ‘intellectual,’ he is talking Hegel.

Hegel is, however, the most obscure and difficult of writers, whom few even of his followers profess to understand. It is simpler, therefore, to start from Ritschl, who has been the real leader of German theology, both in Germany and in England. Ritschl was at first an ardent Hegelian, but ended in a definite reaction from Hegel.

The Ritschlian system starts from two principles : (1) that in dealing with religion only Christianity need be considered ; (2) that it was necessary to free Christianity from its metaphysical encumbrances. Ritschl regarded metaphysics as that which dealt with reality—with what is, and reality was the object of purely abstract or scientific judgement, as determined by purely intellectual methods. On this ground he rejected Christian ‘theology.’ As men, we are concerned only with what is real for ourselves, that is, with practical value, determined by a ‘value-judgement’ resting upon personal ‘experience,’ which is the substance of ‘religion.’

In religion, therefore, ‘what God is in Himself, it is useless to inquire.’ Nor is it any use to inquire what Christ is in Himself. ‘Jesus has for us in experience the value of God.’ From this basis, the German and Germanized ‘reconstruction’ of theology follows. Harnack for instance, as a professed follower of Ritschl. in *What is Christianity?* insists that we do not know what Christ was. It is quite enough to know from Him what God is *like*, since our

following of the right ideal is alone of importance. The position is most completely expressed in a sentence of Father Tyrrell's *Much Abused Letter*—'The Resurrection is not true historically, but it is true in religious experience.' In other words, it is not the fact that matters, but our own feelings, thoughts and conduct as roused by the ideal of a 'spiritual resurrection.'

It is obvious that this is substantially just Kantian Idealism applied to religion. The value-judgement of Ritschl is the Practical Reason of Kant. There is the same emphasis upon 'experience,' whereby the human mind is made the measure of all things. As, therefore, Kant threw the external thing-in-itself clean out of consideration as unknown, so Ritschl throws out God-in-Himself—a conclusion Kant had himself anticipated—'Whether such a Being (containing all reality in Himself) exists, we are in complete ignorance.'

As Ritschl's theory is the religious parallel of the Kantian Idealism, so it is open to the same objection. Can we so easily make our experience the measure of all things? Granted that we judge values according to experience, is that value-judgement final? Because we do not know what God is doing, and therefore 'for us' He is doing nothing, does it follow that He is doing nothing? Because the darkness of our ignorance has not 'comprehended' the light, cannot reach the light, does it follow that the light does not comprehend or reach to us?

It was perhaps to be regretted that Ritschl refused to interest himself in heathen religion. One has to admit that most of those who do, yet fail to see the difference between Christianity and heathenism, and probably Ritschl would have failed; but it is possible that he might have seen that his system was essentially heathen and not Christian.

Heathenism is based on experience, our own experience, because there was nothing else on which it could be based. But our experience cannot reach to God. On it we can only build ideas, the product of our reflexion. Myths and idols are pathetic attempts to give some kind of body to these ideas. The religion consists of a worship addressed to the

ideas, our own ideas, so expressed. Of course the worship was meant for God, but unfortunately there was no meaning for God at all.

Christianity on the other hand is vitally concerned with God Himself, and denounces this worship of our ideas as a ruinous idolatry. It bases itself on the belief that, though God cannot be *found* in experience, He Himself *came* to experience, revealing Himself, not as an experience, but as an object of experience. Heathenism looked for salvation to higher ideas in belief, or better still in conduct. Christianity declared such hope vain. Salvation cannot be found in us; it was made for us and given to us in what God Himself did by His Death, Resurrection and Ascension.

In each respect, Ritschlianism takes its stand with Heathenism. 'What matters is our following of a right ideal.' That is very true, if it is true that only our doings matter, and if we are right in assuming that God does not do anything. The 'Spiritual' resurrection is an ideal. The actual, historic Incarnation of God, Resurrection, Ascension, are of no importance. Well, if they are of no importance, and if they effected nothing—in that case, myths, which are fancy stories expressing ideals, will do equally well. Christianity never believed these occurrences were myths, because Christians always believed they had effected something. They were the whole basis of faith in God.

In Ritschlianism there is no faith possible. But here we must call attention to the marvellous powers of terminology—sometimes called the 'art of Labelling.' Ritschl would rid Christianity of 'metaphysics,' and that warmed the hearts of Englishmen, who hate metaphysics because it seems unreal, although reality was exactly what Ritschl wanted to get rid of. Ritschl emphasized the profound importance of 'experience,' and Englishmen have an intense belief in experience, by which a man escapes from his own theories and feelings and prejudices to good solid facts; but then Ritschl's 'experience' was experience purely of one's own states, and had nothing to do with facts as objects of experience. Ritschl concentrated our atten-

tion on Christianity, and the label quite contented us while he demonstrated all the principles of heathenism. Ritschl, like Eucken, talks of God with the most satisfying piety, although the name no longer stands for anything Personal, that is, for Anyone Who does anything—in Whom, therefore, one might believe. As with the Professor who began the term's lectures, 'We will now proceed to construct God,' it is merely a name for the ideas and ideals in one's mind. On this basis 'our German God' is perfectly intelligible. Some call him Thor. Heathenism was heathen, because it had no materials for being anything else. Ritschlianism and the German theology is heathen, because it has deliberately rejected the materials and refused to be anything else.

The theory however takes its stand upon the moral basis. After all, Christians admit that human righteousness is an immense and central factor, and it is contended that in this respect the German theologians are fully Christian. They are even doing a great service by disentangling the essential element from merely intellectual additions. I contend, on the other hand, that in this respect also the German theology is fully heathen, and that it has repudiated the whole basis of Christian ethics. We will follow its morality to two conclusions.

(1) I have referred above to that primary ethical problem: whether pride is a vice or a virtue. Against pride Christianity builds its whole ethical theory on humility, because it accepts the fact of our ignorance; and it builds on penitence, because we are always of necessity working as if we knew, and from our own judgement as if we had a right to judge. In truth we are waiting for God, and it is by this faith in His coming and in His judgement that Christianity has been able to make humility an effective power. Through the same faith, Christianity has been able to set its ideal on self-sacrifice, for the one thing that does matter is God. And although to Him our souls are very precious, to us they are the one thing which is of no account, so that 'he who loveth his soul shall lose it.'

The German theology however has concentrated our

attention upon ourselves. The measure of values lies in the perfecting of our characters and our doings. I do not say that German theology gives humility no place in the ideal of perfection. Certainly its English followers give it a very high place. But if our own perfection is the object of our efforts, however conscious we may be of failure, every step of progress is a ground for so much of satisfaction. Complete attainment would be complete self-satisfaction, as the heathen philosophers recognized. The humility of defect is at best an accident of process. It has no place in the ideal itself. And this implies a false notion of humility, which does not consist in having a mean opinion of oneself, which is a somewhat artificial attitude, but in having no opinion, because we are seeking the perfection that is in God, not a perfection of our own. German theology does not, like the heathen, deny the virtue of humility, but it does make it meaningless and ineffective.

(2) So far as natural morality is concerned, systems must be judged, not merely by their content or ideal, but by their effectiveness. And there is no doubt that heathenism became morally ineffective just as it became more civilized and more highly developed. The primitive and ignorant savage made his gods according to his own ideas, and endowed them with whatever morality he possessed. Nevertheless, because he was ignorant, because he was quite unconscious of the process, the gods did stand to him for something beyond himself, which had to be reckoned with. They might insist on that morality at moments when he would gladly have waived it. As men ceased to be ignorant, as they realized that the gods were only the expression of their own ideas, they saw that the gods did not need to be reckoned with. I follow my ideas just so much as I do follow them; if I throw their shadow on the clouds and then call them back to me under the names of Zeus, Athene, Phoebus Apollo, and so forth, they do not gain any extra power by this long-circuiting. So the drunken soldiers came back again to burn and kill all that was left at the Château, singing 'A safe stronghold is still our God.'

To apply the words by an anachronism, heathenism failed to help men morally because it was idealist, that is, because it could not take a man beyond himself. Some men have high and noble ideas, and some men have not. Who is to judge between them? Treitschke said 'the State, and beyond the State there is no higher judge.' Some of us reply 'The inner light of conscience.' Up to a certain point that may serve, but in this war we find that the inner light of the German Professors entirely approves of everything Germany has done, and entirely disapproves of everything England has done. Unless we are to say that the inner light of the German Professors is decadent, we must go back to a simple question—'Except ourselves and our own inner light, is there any judge of anything?' And we can only say 'yes' or 'no,' as we say 'yes' or 'no' to the other question—'Does God judge us?' The moral *débâcle* of Germany began when German philosophy tried to make human ideas and human wills sufficient for themselves, and it was consummated when German religion was taught how for the same end she could throw away the fear of God and of God's judgement. The Professors could do nothing to stay, they had lost everything that could have stayed, the ruin they had invited. On the contrary, they were forced to defend, and to excuse themselves for admiring, the pattern of their own handiwork.

HERBERT KELLY, S.S.M.

ART. II.—SHAKESPEARE AS A CHURCHMAN.

1. *The Works of William Shakespeare*. In ten volumes, with essays and notes. (Stratford-on-Avon: The Shakespeare Head Press. 1907.)
2. *Life of William Shakespeare*. By SIR SIDNEY LEE. New Edition. (London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1915.)
3. *Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible*. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, Bishop of St. Andrews. (London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1880.)

4. *The Religion of Shakespeare.* By H. S. BOWDEN.
(London : Burns and Oates. 1899.)
 5. *Shakespeare : Puritan and Recusant.* By the Rev. T. CARTER. (Edinburgh : Oliphant. 1897.)
 6. *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture : with the Version he used.* By the Rev. T. CARTER. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1905.)
 7. *The Moral System of Shakespeare.* By R. G. MOULTON.
(London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1903.)
 8. *Shakespeare's Environment.* By Mrs. C. C. STOPES.
(London : George Bell and Sons. 1914.)
 9. *Oxford Lectures on Poetry.* By A. C. BRADLEY.
(London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1909.)
- And other Works.

THE recognition of what the English people owe to Shakespeare has happily, through the spread of popular education, become now so general, that no protest has been raised against the decision of persons in authority to commemorate the Tercentenary of his death, through the length and breadth of the land, notwithstanding that the nation is involved in war, and a war vaster and more critical than any in its past history. The recognition of such a debt is no doubt on the part of many vague and inarticulate, but it is there. At the moment it may be the patriotism of the Elizabethan rather than the insight of the man of genius that is remembered, for we are severed by but a few months from the five hundredth anniversary of Agincourt, and everybody has fresh in mind that wonderful epic of English heroism and fortitude, *The Life of Henry the Fifth*. But to fight for a country always means to fight for some of that country's ideals ; and in no war that England has waged has the clash of opposed ideals been so sharp and unmistakeable as in the present. The country is shewing that it still holds its ancient tradition of Freedom and Honour and the protection of the weak as worth the sacrifice of its best blood ; and the deeper consideration forced upon it by the events of the struggle

has made it realize that this national tradition is but one aspect of that love of good and love of men, which is the ideal of Christian civilization, the main theme of all our great poets, and of none more clearly and earnestly than our greatest poet of all.

But before saying what little can here be said concerning the nature of the ideal which Shakespeare has bequeathed to us, it may be well to set out shortly what is known of his own religious belief and way of life ; because we naturally view with suspicion the spiritual teaching, using that expression in a large sense, of any poet or philosopher, which rejects what we cannot but regard as fundamental verities, or whose own life is not in accordance with good morals. It is a commonplace that of Shakespeare's private life and opinions, we know very little. ' Others,' says Matthew Arnold, ' abide our question. Thou art free.' But if the questions be modestly framed, we do get some answer. To begin with, it may be taken as certain, and the fact will be interesting to the readers of this Review, though too much need not be made of it, that Shakespeare was a loyal member of the Church of England and not, as has been maintained, a concealed Roman Catholic, or an anti-State-Church Puritan. A certain Archdeacon Davies, of Gloucestershire, who collected some notes on Shakespeare's life at the end of the Seventeenth century, has put it on record that ' he died a papist.' Considering the well-known Puritanism of Shakespeare's son-in-law Dr. Hall, who attended him in his last illness, not to speak of the penalties for proselytizing, a death-bed reconciliation with the Church of Rome may be pronounced simply impossible ; and the tradition is on a level with that preserved by another local clergyman, that the poet died from the results of a drinking-bout. Whatever the sickness was that brought Shakespeare to his death, and it probably had more to do with bad water than good wine, for Stratford was deplorably insanitary, it is pretty clear that it was no sudden seizure, for he made his will in January, corrected it in March and died in April. But the question of Shakespeare's Roman sympathies

must not be so lightly dismissed, for the evidence of his works has been brought in to support the tradition. Mr. Bowden, who devoted a book to the question, attached importance to the fact that in re-writing the old play of *King John* Shakespeare omitted all the ribald abuse of monks and friars, as well as such full-blooded Tudor sentiments as this : 'As I am King so will I reign next unto God, Supreme Head both over spiritual and temporal : and he that contradicts me in them, I will make him hop headless.' It is certainly true that the poet did not make his play a scurrilous tract ; but it cannot be said that he reveals any sympathy with the papal cause. Pandulph is not by any means a sympathetic character, and the part he plays is ignominious. He excommunicates and deposes the king, and calls in the French to make good his sentence ; but when, on John's submission, he boasts that he will 'hush again the storm of war,' he is shewn to be incapable of fulfilling his promise. Moreover, remembering that the play was written to be acted, is it credible that any Roman Catholic would have given the theatre such an opportunity for expressing its Protestant sentiments, as is furnished by the lines

' And from the mouth of England
Add this much more—that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions ' ;

Two further arguments of Mr. Bowden may be briefly answered. He contrasts the respectable light in which Shakespeare represents his Friars with the fun he makes of the English parsons ; and he avers that the many references to the Bible in the plays are put into the mouth of hypocrites, to ridicule the Protestant habit of dependence upon the text of Scripture. In estimating the former argument we must remember that Shakespeare's romantic drama is largely from Italian sources, and his scene gains in romantic remoteness by making his religious persons those of the Italian faith ; at the same time there is a vagueness and staginess about them which does not help to convince one that the dramatist had any inside knowledge

of the Roman ecclesiastical system. Nor can it be said that the English parsons are made in any way contemptible. Mr. Bowden has not his eye on the object when he calls them 'weak-minded pedants, timid and time-serving.' There is not much timidity about the choleric Welshman, Sir Hugh Evans, and though his dialect is made amusing, as is Fluellen's in *Henry V*, in neither case is there anything weak-minded or silly in what is said. Sir Nathaniel in *Love's Labour's Lost* is an earlier sketch, and though he is 'a little o'erparted' as Alexander, he is represented as having some learning—'as a certain Father saith'—though the interruption of the Schoolmaster prevents the quotation; and we are pleased to find him begging Holophernes to 'abrogate scurrility' in his 'extemporal epitaph' on the death of the deer, because we know from the huntsman's song in *As You Like It* the unmannerly jests which Elizabethan humourists were apt to find in the poor creature's horns. His parishioner Costard sums him up in a sentence, which is no contemptible character of a country parson: 'an honest man; a marvellous good neighbour, faith; and a very good bowler.' The argument that Shakespeare's references to the Bible are all put into the mouth of hypocrites will require us to admit that Hamlet, Prince Henry, the Duke in *As You Like It*, Portia, Beatrice and many other respectable characters are hypocrites; which is absurd.

On the other hand, Shakespeare's intimate knowledge of the text of Scripture has led the Rev. Thomas Carter, a Presbyterian minister, to take up the position that Shakespeare was bred in a Puritan household, and was himself sympathetic to the Puritans. This is a more reasonable thesis than Mr. Bowden's, but it fails to approve itself. If the poet's father was a Puritan, he was so with a difference, because it was in the year of his chief magistracy at Stratford that actors were invited to the town; and he did not disdain the attraction of heraldry, which Puritans despised. Mr. Carter tries to shew that most of Shakespeare's quotations from the Bible are taken from the Genevan version. Even if this were true, it would not prove his

point, because the popularity of the Genevan version depended mainly upon its handy size and roman type, and division into verses; and though the annotations were occasionally Calvinist in doctrine, Calvinists and Puritans were not equivalent terms. But it is far from being true. Many passages which Mr. Carter cites as from the Genevan version had passed into popular currency, and are to be found in earlier dramatists such as Lyly. The only quotation from the Bible in Shakespeare which can be certainly traced to the Genevan version comes in Hamlet's speech,¹ 'He took my father grossly, *full of bread*,' which depends upon the text in Ezekiel xvi 49, where every other version has 'fullness of *meat*.' Many more are demonstrably from the Bishops' Bible, *e.g.* the pun in *Love's Labour's Lost*² on the 'green withes' which bound Samson, which the Genevan version calls 'green cords,' and the lines of Berowne in the same play³:

'For Charity itself fulfils the law:
And who can sever love from Charity?'

The Puritans made a point of translating *agape* by 'love'; and the Genevan version, following Tindale, reflects their views.

On the whole, then, we must dismiss the rival contentions. In *All's Well* the Clown speaks of young Charbon (*i.e.* *chair bonne*) the Puritan, and old Poysam (*i.e.* *poisson*) the Papist, as though they represented the two extremes of which all sensible persons were the mean; and though it would not be fair to identify the poet with the most scurrilous of his clowns, we must infer that this was his own position. We cannot do wrong in detecting in the same speech a view resembling that of the Judicious Hooker on the law-abiding use of the surplice. The Clown says: 'That man should be at woman's command and yet no hurt done! Though honesty be no Puritan, yet it will do no hurt; it will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart'; which we may paraphrase, 'It won't hurt me to obey my mistress any more than it

¹ III. 3.

² I. ii. 85.

³ IV. iii. 258.

will hurt the Puritans to obey the Queen, though they may object to the "regiment of women." They may keep their heart as proud as they please in their black gown, but they must be content to wear the surplice over it, according to order.' We may however concede to Mr. Carter, that Shakespeare was not likely to overlook the good points of the Puritans, although he would as an actor resent, or at least regret, their hostility to the stage. It is puzzling to the mere reader of the plays, to understand where Shakespeare's biographers find their evidence of what Dr. Brandes, the chief offender, calls his 'unremitting war against Puritanism.' The only passage where Puritans are mentioned as a class, besides that already quoted from *All's Well*, is in *Twelfth Night*. Maria says of Malvolio, 'Marry, sir, sometimes he is a kind of Puritan,' to which Sir Andrew replies 'O, if I thought that I'd beat him like a dog.'

'*Sir Toby*. What, for being a Puritan ! thy exquisite reason, dear knight ?

'*Sir Andrew*. I have no exquisite reason for it, but I have reason good enough.

'*Maria*. The devil a Puritan that he is, or anything constantly but a time-pleaser.'

So far from attacking Puritanism, this little dialogue might have been introduced in order to ridicule, in the person of Sir Andrew, the contemptuous use of the epithet, which was probably not uncommon among the upper classes. We know from the diary kept by Shakespeare's cousin Thomas Greene, the town-clerk of Stratford, that when William Combe could not get his way about some enclosure, he called the Town Council 'Puritan knaves and underlings in their colour,' a way of saying that they were no gentlemen.

We may conclude this question of Shakespeare's churchmanship by noting that he had learned the Church Catechism, because he makes Hamlet speak of his hands as 'pickers and stealers,'¹ and we know that he had stood

¹ III. ii. 348.

godfather to a friend's child, because he left his godson xxs. in gold by his will. There is also the tale of his jest on a similar occasion with Ben Jonson, preserved in the anecdotes of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange. Finding Shakespeare in a brown study after the christening Jonson asked him why he was melancholy. 'No faith, Ben,' says he, 'but I have been considering a great while what should be the fittest gift for me to bestow upon my godchild, and I have resolved at last.' 'I prythee, what?' says he. 'I' faith, Ben, I'll e'en give him a dozen good Lattin [*i.e.* tin-plated] spoons, and thou shalt translate them.'

The further question how far Shakespeare gave an *ex animo* 'assent and consent' to the articles of the Church's creed is one no more answerable in his case than it would be of most laymen then and now. Here if we ask, we may indeed say with Matthew Arnold 'thou smilest and art still.' The plays shew, as Bishop Charles Wordsworth clearly demonstrated, a conversance with the chief doctrines of the Church, and these doctrines are referred to again and again with conviction by this and that character; but that tells us nothing about the convictions of the dramatist himself. Interested inquirers will continue to interpret the oracles according to their wish. The difficulty of forming any opinion as to the dramatist's own beliefs from those expressed even by sympathetic characters, and at the same time the danger of hastily inferring the poet's scepticism, as is done by M. Jusserand, may be illustrated from the doctrine of immortality. In *Measure for Measure* the Duke, disguised as a friar, undertakes to prepare Claudio for death. And what friar that ever lived could have talked so out of character?

'Thy best of rest is sleep,
And that thou oft provok'st; yet grossly fear'st
Thy death, which is no more.'

The natural conclusion here is not that Shakespeare is expressing his own belief, but that he decided that it would be out of taste to play the part honestly, and stopped the gap with a string of rhetorical commonplaces from

Montaigne. Again, Hamlet the University student, touched with Renaissance scepticism, which is perhaps one symptom of his constitutional hesitation, doubts whether death ends all or not :

‘ To die, to sleep ;
To sleep : perchance to dream ; ay, there’s the rub.’

But from a doubt which is so much in character, what inference can rightly be drawn as to Shakespeare’s own belief ? However there is Prospero. Prospero is commonly and not unreasonably regarded as standing for the poet-mage himself ; we flatter ourselves we hear Shakespeare speaking words of mild wisdom through his voice ; and so that great *rhexis* on the dissolution of the universe has been inscribed on Shakespeare’s cenotaph in Westminster Abbey as the final word of the world’s greatest poet :

‘ We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.’

Must we say, then, that we have here at last the authentic voice of Shakespeare, and that we find it to be a voice not of doubt only but of despair ? It shews how carelessly people read, that so far as I know, it was the commentary on *The Tempest* of Mr. Morton Luce (1901) which first pointed to the fact that we must not take this to be even Prospero’s real and final opinion.¹ ‘ That which provokes,’ says Mr. Bradley, ‘ first a passion of anger, and a moment later the melancholy thought that the great world must perish utterly, and that man is but a dream, is the sudden recollection of gross and apparently incurable evil in the monster whom he had tried in vain to raise and soften, and in the monster’s

¹ Carlyle seems to have read some esoteric meaning into the lines, for he says ‘ Nature seemed to this man also divine ; unspeakable, deep as Tophet, high as Heaven : “ We are such stuff as dreams are made of.” That scroll in Westminster Abbey, which few read with understanding, is of the depth of any seer.’—*Lectures on Heroes* : ‘ The Hero as Poet.’

human confederates'¹; and he at once asks pardon for the outburst:

‘Sir, I am vex’d;
Bear with my weakness; my old brain is troubled;
Be not disturbed with my infirmity.’

At the end of the play he expresses the intention to

‘retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave’;

a superfluous consideration, surely, if he believed death to be merely a sleep.

But it so happens that on this final article of the Creed we have a profession of faith from the poet speaking in his own person in the 146th Sonnet; and that ought to settle the question. It concludes thus:

‘Is this thy body’s end?
Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant’s loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;
Within be fed, without be rich no more;
So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And Death once dead, there’s no more dying then.’

To one other article of the Creed, the first and fundamental, we can equally be sure of Shakespeare’s adherence. The speeches which assert a conviction of the divine government of the world are numerous, and are put into the mouth of all sorts of characters, with whom the reader is expected to sympathize; while the adverse view is expressed by clever villains of the type of Edmund in *King Lear*. Professor Bradley in his illuminating lecture on ‘Shakespeare the Man,’² speaks of the ‘quiet but deep sense’ observable in characters who strike many readers as ‘having a good deal of Shakespeare in them,’ that ‘they and other men are neither their own masters nor responsible only to themselves and other men, but are in the hands

¹ *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 329.

² *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 351.

of " Providence " or guiding powers " above " ; and he quotes some lines from Helena in *All's Well* :

' It is not so with Him that all things knows
As 'tis with us that square our guess by shows ;
But most it is presumption in us when
The help of heaven we count the act of men ' ;

followed soon after by Lafeu's remark :

' They say miracles are past ; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless. Hence it is that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear.'

It is this ' quiet but deep sense ' of divine Providence in the plays, far more than any number of particular quotations, which could always be explained away as merely in character with the speaker, that convinces any careful reader of the dramatist's own faith in God.

[The other point which sometimes disturbs people, when Shakespeare is put forward as a religious writer, is a doubt as to his personal character. Does not tradition speak of him as a somewhat careless, if not indeed like Marlowe, as a reckless liver ? In estimating the value of any tradition before the days of biography, there are two things to be kept in view : first, its date, and secondly, the attraction that all popular names exercise upon floating stories. The tradition of the drinking bout at Bidford, and that other at Stratford, which is said to have brought on the poet's death, are both late, and are rightly rejected by Sir Sidney Lee, Shakespeare's latest and most judicial biographer, as entirely worthless.¹ An interesting tradition on the other side has lately been recovered from the rough notes of John Aubrey the antiquary, which probably came to him from an old actor William Beeston, whose father was in Shakespeare's own company, that ' he would not be debauched, and if invited to, writ he was in pain ' ; that is to say, he excused himself from drinking parties. This tradition is much more in keeping than the Bidford

¹ *Life*, p. 483.

and Stratford stories, with the tone of disgust in which Shakespeare, in *Hamlet* and *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, speaks of intoxication. On the other hand the tale recorded by a young law student, John Manningham, in what is called his diary, an odd assortment of jests and sermon-notes, of an assignation made by a woman in the audience with Burbage, when he was acting Richard III, which was anticipated by Shakespeare, who excused himself on the ground that 'William the Conqueror was before Richard III,' is contemporary and is entered under the date March 13, 1601.¹ It is given however as a story told to him, and opens suggestively with the words 'Upon a time.' Clearly it belongs to the type of coarse and witty story always popular in England, of which every jest book from the *Hundred Merry Tales* onward is full: tales still told by the younger members of the Inns of Court; but which no one troubles to believe, or could believe if he stopped to ask the question, how they came to be told.² We get a more credible characterization of the two actor friends in an epigram by John Davies of Hereford, two years later; in which after referring to Shakespeare's skill in 'poesie' and Burbage's in painting, he continues:

'Wit, courage, good shape, good parts and all good,
As long as all these goods are no worse used;
And though the stage doth stain pure gentle blood,
Yet generous ye are in mind and mood.'

¹ *Diary of John Manningham* (Camden Society), p. 39.

² The Sonnets seem to me to afford evidence that at an early period in his career Shakespeare found himself in the toils of a woman whom he did not respect, but who fascinated him. As the sonnets referring to the *liaison* belong apparently all to the same date, it may have lasted but a few months. This is worth noting because Mr. Frank Harris, in his book *The Man Shakespeare, and his Tragic Life-story*, finds in it the key to the whole of Shakespeare's career as a tragedian. As we know none of the circumstances, it would be idle to attempt any comment, beyond pointing out that the sonnets which give us the fact give also its condemnation (e.g. 129). The best study I know of Shakespeare's attitude to this social question is that by Rev. Ronald Bayne in *God's Englishmen* (S.P.C.K.).

In simple prose, Davies asserts that, though actors were by their professional status the 'servants' of noblemen, these two at any rate, Shakespeare and Burbage, were gentlemen (*generosi*) in character and manners. And that is the tone of all the contemporary notices of Shakespeare. The very first character we have of him speaks of his 'civil demeanour' and also of his 'uprightness of dealing,' and the last, that of Ben Jonson, says the same: 'He was indeed honest [*i.e.* honourable] and of an open and free nature,' and of his engraved portrait he says 'It was for *gentle* Shakespeare cut.' We know very few particulars of Shakespeare's life to which appeal can now be made in support of these testimonies, but quite recently two stories have come to light, which speak plainly as to his goodness of heart. Dr. Wallace of Nebraska University¹ found the documents belonging to a lawsuit brought against a man named Montjoy, a wig-maker in Silver Street, with whom Shakespeare lodged, by his apprentice and son-in-law, to enforce the terms of the marriage contract. Shakespeare appeared as witness for the plaintiff; and the depositions shew that he had taken a kindly interest in the young people, and helped to remove difficulties to the marriage. Incidentally the fact of his lodging at a wig-maker's at the time when he was writing *The Merchant of Venice* and revising *Love's Labour's Lost* affords an explanation of his attacks in these plays and in the Sonnets of the same period on the fashion of wearing false hair: 'the head that bred them in the sepulchre.' The other story was dug by Mrs. Stopes out of some entries in the diary of Shakespeare's cousin Thomas Greene, the town-clerk of Stratford. It is to the effect that Shakespeare sent for the executors of a certain Thomas Barber of Stratford whom John Combe had prosecuted for the repayment of a loan, for which Barber had become surety, 'to agree, as is said, with them for Mr. Barber's interest.' As both Barber and his wife died shortly after his arrest, it looks as if Combe, who was notoriously tyrannical, had some

¹ *Harper's Magazine*, March 1910.

responsibility for these sad events ; and it is pleasant to find Shakespeare, who has been accused of abetting Combe in his proposals for enclosure at Stratford, shewing in this way the difference of their spirits.¹ The question of Shakespeare's attitude to Combe's enclosure scheme has been made of much importance in the estimate of his character, but it would take too much space to argue here.² It will suffice to say shortly that those biographers who charge Shakespeare with supporting a tyrannical attack upon popular rights have ignored the very important consideration that Combe offered full compensation for all interests affected ; so that the question between the favourers and the opponents of the scheme is reduced to one of sentiment. But even so the balance of the available evidence is against Shakespeare's approval. There is nothing then in what we know of Shakespeare's personal character which suggests to us that what teaching he gives us on the conduct of life was in any way insincere ; so that we may proceed to inquire what were the questions that he found of special interest.

The religious questions which in his day most interested the public were, first the Puritan question agitated in the Martin-Marprelate controversy, which was carried on in plays as well as tracts for the times ; and secondly the Calvinist controversy, which for its subtlety and hopelessness Milton thought a fit theme for debate in Hell. Of these discussions, the first, so far as the evidence goes, left Shakespeare cold ; the second interested him with a difference : that is to say, not as it concerned God but man. And his solution, if we may put into a formula the teaching of his great tragedies, is that fate and free-will find their meeting-point in character. The tragic hero has, at the same moment, the appearance of a man exercising free choice, and also of a man going to his doom ; and the solution is that what impels him to act as he does

¹ *Shakespeare's Environment*, by C. C. Stopes, pp. 87-91.

² I have discussed it in a little book *William Shakespeare, Player, Playmaker, and Poet* (Smith, Elder, pp. 72-5), and more at length in *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, pp. 243-7.

is the character he has made for himself. All the tragedies after *Romeo and Juliet*, his first experiment, are, so far as the hero is concerned, tragedies of character. Alone of the Elizabethans, except Marlowe in the one play of *Faustus*, Shakespeare observed the doctrine of Aristotle as to the true nature of the tragic catastrophe, that it was to be found not in the inconstancy of fortune nor in any righteous retribution fallen upon a splendid criminal, but in the consequences of some intellectual defect or moral frailty in a heroic character, who for the most part attracts our sympathy and whose fall we commiserate. If this be so, the tragedies are not, as critics such as M. Jusserand have asserted, a series of magnificent indictments of the universe, an exposure of the malign influence at work in the world which takes pleasure in bringing to ruin the greatest among men, but studies in human nature ; with an equal insistence on its greatness and its flaws, written, we may believe, not without a serious ethical intention. There can be no reasonable doubt that in the period of his career when Shakespeare wrote his greater tragedies, he had been deeply impressed by the power of evil in the world ; but I would urge that he did not write these plays until he had reached certain conclusions about the evil, which are there illustrated. One is that men do not lack the power of distinguishing between good and evil, and choosing the good ; another, which *Hamlet* enforces, is that a man's duty in regard to this evil is not to let it paralyze him for action ; and a third is that a mere doctrinaire treatment of it, whether in politics or ethics, by a Brutus or an Angelo, is worse than useless.

Not a few of the tragedies are studies in the larger selfishness. In *Coriolanus* this selfishness takes the form of pride, in *Macbeth* of ambition, in *Mark Antony* of self-indulgence. In each case we are shewn that it contains within itself the seeds of treachery. Shakespeare seems to have loathed treachery as the negation of all true humanity. In all its forms—filial ingratitude, the breach of marriage vows, the falseness of friends, the lack of patriotism—it is to him the sin of sins, the worst profanity

and atheism. Its baleful shadow falls on Comedy as well as on Tragedy. It is the theme of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*; it is felt in the golden air of the Forest of Arden, it penetrates even the enchanted world of *The Tempest*. On the other hand, of loyalty he gives us many beautiful pictures in every rank of life: the captains and men-at-arms in *Henry V*, Kent in *King Lear*, Horatio in *Hamlet*, Emilia in *Othello*, Adam in *As You Like It*. Had he, we wonder, 'learnt in suffering what he taught in song'? There are passages in the Sonnets which make it not unlikely. There is one other form of selfishness for which Shakespeare has no mercy: the want of sympathy which shews itself as indifference to human sorrow, or contempt of human weakness. It must have struck many readers of *Love's Labour's Lost* as a fault in art that the comedy should end with a sermon; and in his later plays the poet is never so straightforwardly didactic. Rosalind in *As You Like It* does not preach to Jaques as Rosaline does to Berowne; she is content to repel his cynicism by her wit. But last as first, Shakespeare finds it intolerable that the deep things of life should be treated as shallow and trivial, and the weakness of human nature be made a theme for scorn or idle sentiment. His own humour, which is as broad as the sunshine, rarely fails to discover some traits of humanity which evoke our tenderness, even in the objects of his keenest mirth.

H. C. BEECHING.

ART. III.—THE NATIONAL MISSION OF REPENTANCE AND HOPE.

1. *The National Mission of Repentance and Hope: Its Origin and Purpose.* By the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. 'National Mission Papers,' No. 1. (London: S.P.C.K. 1916.)
2. *Church and Nation.* 'The Bishop Paddock Lectures.' By WILLIAM TEMPLE. (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1915.)

3. *Life's Journey.* By H. H. MONTGOMERY, D. D., D.C.L., sometime Bishop of Tasmania, Secretary of the S.P.G. With an Introduction by the BISHOP OF LONDON. (London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1916.)

‘SURELY the Almighty God does not intend this war to be just a hideous fracas, a bloody, drunken orgy ! There must be purpose in it all ; improvement must be born out of it. In what direction, France has already shown us the way. She has risen out of her ruined cities with her revived religion, which is most wonderful. Russia has been welded into a whole, and religion plays a greater part. England still remains to be taken out of the stupor of self-satisfaction and complacency in which her great and flourishing condition has steeped her, and until she can be stirred out of this condition and until religious revival takes place at home, just so long will the war continue. When she can look out on the future with humbler eyes and a prayer on her lips, then we can begin to count the days towards the end.’—ADMIRAL BEATTY.

‘The first effects of the war upon our minds, the sense of novelty, the thrilling moments of national self-consciousness, the feverish pre-occupation, have now given way to something more settled and habitual, and we have leisure, if I may so put it, to face the spiritual situation. That situation can be stated in a sentence : the time has come for repentance. That is the paramount thing. We stand as a race at the parting of the ways, and the choice, I believe, is between repentance and the beginnings of dissolution : between a race exalted and purified through trial, and a race hardened beyond repentance. “ The time is come when judgement should begin at the House of God.” If we of the Church fail to face it now, the nation will certainly never face it at all.’—ARCHBISHOP OF BRISBANE.

These two avowals, one by an Admiral, and the other by an Archbishop, shew very plainly the need of a National awakening. Clearly it is the Church which first requires renewal. We are not indeed greatly moved by the reproach that if the Church had done its duty the war would never have happened : that is only another way of saying that the Church has not yet converted the world, and there was never any ground in reason or revelation for supposing

that the Church would convert the world in 1900 years. Nor have we any right to disparage the faithful work which in numberless places has been done by every part of the Christian Church. But the fact is plain that the Church is not giving a strong corporate witness to the principles of Christ, and that the call which God is sounding in our ears to-day is clear and unmistakeable. 'The time is come when judgement should begin at the house of God.' 'If we of the Church fail to face it now, the nation will certainly never face it at all.' The Church is bound to make a new and intense effort to gain from God a deeper Repentance and a livelier Hope, in order that God may be able to use the Church for the inspiration, the guidance, and the strengthening of the nation.

We have often been told that leaders must lead. Our natural leaders are the Archbishops; they have given us a lead, and the proposal for a 'National Mission of Repentance and Hope' is the result. The Archbishop of Canterbury has told us the stages by which this conclusion was reached.

'After quiet and prayerful conference with other bishops, I wrote in July of last year to a number of specially chosen and experienced men—differing widely in ecclesiastical opinion but at one in devotion and loyalty. I asked them to meet quietly and for a few successive days to think and pray and deliberate upon our present life in England and its spiritual needs and then to give me such counsel as God the Holy Spirit should put into their hearts. Twelve well-trusted men did so meet and pray and talk. In October they presented to me a thoughtful report, recommending among other things some National Mission or appeal throughout the land. They sketched its character and purpose. I weighed their words, and then I invited six diocesan bishops of special experience to meet those twelve in private conference. They did, and then all, or nearly all, wrote or spoke to me separately about the outcome. Then I invited all the diocesan bishops of England and Wales to discuss with the Archbishop of York and myself the proposals which were taking provisional shape, and with a view to such Episcopal discussion, to obtain and, if they so desired, to communicate to me what was in each diocese the view of those whom the diocesan should consult.

The letters were very many and very thoughtful, and the discussion by practically the whole diocesan Episcopate was full. I had in the meantime given a provisional invitation to some seventy persons—bishops, priests, laymen, and women—to serve on a Council for furthering our scheme and for suggesting plans of action and procedure. The bishops approved; the name “A National Mission of Repentance and Hope” was chosen; and, provisionally, the date for concentrated effort, and these conclusions were made public. The Council, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of London, held yesterday its first meeting, and while there was of necessity, and most wholesomely, abundant criticism and comment, and abundant pointing out of difficulties, I am able to say that in substance the plan thus carefully thought out for many months was approved, and that strong committees are now being formed to deal with its several parts.’

The Archbishop went on to make it clear that the Mission is something altogether different in idea and in method from the ‘Parochial Mission’ with which many of us are happily familiar: that it is essentially a Mission of witness; and that the effort of October and November is to be regarded as ‘a new beginning, not an end attained.’

It was clearly indicated that while the Mission is the work of our own Church, to be conducted in accordance with our own principles, we have good hope that other Christian Communions will conduct similar efforts on their own lines. The nation needs the help of all the Christian influence which it possesses.

I believe that there are many occasions when all the Christian forces of the country—Church of England, Roman Catholic, Nonconformist—can take concerted and united action. But in the present effort each communion will do its best work if it is true to its own convictions, and free to follow its own principles. Any form of co-operation which obscures those principles or overrides those convictions is sure to be unfruitful. It could only be worked on a basis of undenominationalism, which is always weak and ineffective, and nothing which is weak can meet our present need. Let the different communions work side by side in perfect amity, each on its own lines. We can have unity

of purpose and of goodwill, and that is what matters most in the crisis of to-day.

How can the great and stirring ideal of a National Mission be best interpreted? Perhaps it will be desirable first to try to clear the ground by meeting some objections and difficulties, then to state the purpose, the 'objective' of the Mission, then to discuss possible methods both of the great autumnal effort and of the preparation for it, and finally to attempt to gain some vision of what we may hope for as a result of the Mission, if God so wills.

II

The Mission, as has already been said, is entirely different from a parochial Mission. A huge 'general Mission,' such as we have known in some of our large towns, only on a national scale, would obviously be impracticable. Missioners would not be forthcoming in sufficient numbers; the time would be too short for the preparation: some parishes would be unready for it. 'Then why,' it is asked, 'give to this effort the name of "Mission"?' We reply 'because we can find no better.' A new thing requires a new name—but then no one would understand a new name. Other suggested titles, 'call,' 'campaign,' 'crusade,' 'challenge,' are all open to even greater objection. And the qualification 'Mission of Repentance and Hope' shews what we are after. We are calling people—ourselves in the Church first, and then the nation—to cast off self-complacency, to get on our knees and to humble ourselves before God, but before a God who is 'the God of Hope,' and who is ready to renew our lives from the infinite resources of Truth and Grace that are in Jesus Christ.

But 'why fix so early a time as the autumn?' Here we meet with two classes of objector, one of whom takes a high ground of principle which deserves our cordial respect, while the other faces us with 'practical difficulties.' The first reminds us that a revival or renewal comes from God and can only be expected at God's time: he urges that experience tells us that great spiritual movements come

after a war, in a time of calm but not a time of great prosperity, rather than during a war; and that therefore we ought to wait for the occasion which God will in time disclose. There is a great deal of truth in this point of view. If we were in any way trying to force our own times and seasons on God, we should be inviting and deserving failure as the reward of our irreverence. But the Mission is not so much an end as a beginning: it is an effort to put ourselves into readiness to hear God's call when it comes. It is said that the French Church after 1870 was only able to meet a great demand for real religion by puerile, or at any rate very inadequate, devotions, and little else. They failed to prepare, during the war, for the opportunity which followed the war. To adopt a metaphor which is natural at this present time, the occupation of the enemy's territory is what we want; we desire that the kingdoms of this world should become the Kingdoms of our God, and of His Christ, and such a victory must be of God. But we shall not be wrong in planning, and with God's help making *a push all along the enemy's line*. The Mission is that push. The accumulation of ammunition is important and must be carefully attended to. But the push itself is only a preparation for the advance which is more important still.

Others urge practical difficulties of various kinds. (1) An obstacle which is really insignificant, but seems insuperable to some unenterprising souls—the 'lighting order.' But why in the world do we want brilliantly lighted churches for a Mission service? and as for the danger of darkened streets there will be moonlight for eight or nine evenings in each month. (2) Then our women and such men as are left, especially in the North and the Midlands, are very busy, and the almost unexampled prosperity (albeit artificial prosperity) is not conducive to spiritual earnestness. True: yet the experience of a 'week of prayer and preaching' in a busy Deanery of my own Diocese, and a larger experience in the Diocese of Salisbury, shew that this difficulty may be overcome.

(3) Another 'practical' objection deserves a paragraph to itself. 'A large number of our men and lads are away,

and what is any Mission without the men and the lads ? ' I believe that so far from being an objection this is one of the strongest arguments for making an effort which (in all human probability) will come before the war is ended. Our soldiers are getting their Mission out in the trenches : we do not pretend that they are all being converted, but very many of them, brought up against realities, are learning that God is the greatest Reality of all :

' Now we remember : over here in Flanders—
it isn't strange to think of You in Flanders—
this hideous warfare seems to make things clear :
we didn't think about You much in England,
but now that we are far away from England,
we do not doubt, we know that You are here.'

The danger is lest we should be utterly unworthy of them, and lest when they return the good impressions be lost, drowned in a sea of 'treating,' and obliterated by the indifference and ridicule either of their companions, or even alas ! by the wife and daughters at home. At all costs we must guard against that shame.

(4) But, 'granting that it is desirable to be ready for the return of our men, how can we possibly in so short a time prepare for a big movement like a National Mission ?' Once more we must bear in mind that the 'Mission' is not a congeries of Parochial Missions. It will not require the same kind of preparation. Doubtless many of the clergy and their fellow-workers will need spiritual training. But if there is a will for concentrated prayer and work, the way will not be lacking. The King's business requireth haste, and just as many of our lads have been able to pack into six months a military training that usually takes two years, so we may be trained in a comparatively short time for the great purposes of our campaign.

III

What is our purpose ? what is the objective of our immediate campaign ? The purpose of a Parochial Mission is simply the Conversion of the people of the parish to God.

Would that the whole nation might be converted to God ! We are not so faithless as to deem it impossible. But we look for so splendid a consummation not from the National Mission itself, but rather from the mighty working of the Spirit of God for which our Mission may humbly (if it be God's will) prepare the way. Our immediate objective is *the renewal of Repentance and Hope within the Church itself, in order that the Church may give a more effective witness and may become fit to be used by God for a renewal of Repentance and Hope in the Nation.* This does not mean a merely intensive cultivation of spiritual life within the comparatively small circle of 'the faithful.' Our Lord chose twelve that 'they might be with Him and that He might send them forth to teach.' The Church needs the education of being with Jesus in Prayer and Communion : it needs to learn more and more of His Truth : but it needs also the 'sending forth' of downright Missionary endeavour : it must lose its life in order to find it, and, unless it seeks and uses in the National Mission the opportunity of direct evangelistic enterprise it will fail to gain for itself God's gifts of Repentance and Hope. By giving such witness as it can, it must learn to give better witness hereafter.

Nevertheless the first need of the Church is that it should humble itself and seek for Repentance. Indeed we greatly need it. The Archbishop of York gave us a good line for healthy self-examination when he spoke of three purposes for which the New Power of the Son of God came into the world, and which the Church which is His Body ought to have kept constantly in view.

'The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.'

'For this cause the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil.'

'By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another.'

(i) Does the outside world, do the majority of Churchmen, regard the Church as a Society which exists to bring the whole world to God ? Mr. Temple quotes an eminent

politician as saying 'the Church is a voluntary organization for the maintenance of public worship in the interest of those who desire to join in it.' The 'maintenance of worship' is indeed a worthy end: we want more worship, not less. But 'worship in the interest of those who desire to join in it'! That is an example of the miserable self-centred religion of which we have to repent. The Church exists to share with others the splendour of the knowledge of the love of God, not to provide comfortable 'sittings' in the interest of a few respectable people. 'Worship is the very breath of its life, but service of the world is the business of its life. It is the Body of Christ, that is to say, the instrument of His Will, and His Will is to save the world.' ¹

Now there are agencies like the Church Army—all honour to it—and plenty of individual parishes, where the helping of 'those who are ignorant and out of the way,' and the winning of men to the Love of God, are the first ends in view. But we cannot truly say that the whole Church, clergy and laity, as one great Body, is afire with evangelistic zeal. For example the necessary beneficent and hopeful work of 'Rescue and Prevention' is often regarded as a rather questionable form of activity or as merely being an appropriate subject for the zeal of amiable faddists. As for missionary work beyond the seas, though (thank God!) there has been a real awakening of interest, and intelligent people are ashamed to repeat the futile objections of thirty years ago, yet it is impossible to think that the Church as a whole is alive to a Christ-given duty which presents an unequalled opportunity for wise statesmanship and heroic venture.

(ii) A like spirit of heroism is needed if the Church as the Body of Christ is to do His work in destroying the works of the devil. He is the stronger than the strong, the Warrior who 'in righteousness doth judge and make war.' And the Church is His Army, to fight under His command: and indeed we are ready enough to sing spirited hymns

¹ W. Temple, *Church and Nation*, p. 30.

about 'putting our armour on,' and 'standing up for Jesus, as soldiers of the Cross.' But if we inquire into the strategy of the campaign, or the courage and discipline of the soldiers, we must be honest enough to acknowledge profound cause for repentance. There are obvious works of the devil such as drunkenness, gambling, and impurity against which we preachers frequently inveigh. But no candid onlooker can declare that our Church, as a Church, has boldly tackled the vice of intemperance, or say that the majority of Churchmen have been ready to make the sacrifices which the magnitude of the evil demands. Nor have we made any concerted effort to conquer the other far greater evil. We have not declared with sufficiently uncompromising clearness that God's law of purity is equally binding on men and women, and that the evil is not natural, or necessary, or inevitable. We have been contented with vague denunciations instead of striving after positive teaching and constructive reform.

There are other works of the devil which we have too often left alone, though our Lord reserved for them His strongest condemnation. We know what He thought about covetousness, and how He blazed into anger against the greed of the priestly clique who made their gains out of the profanation of the Temple courts. He taught us the peril of false valuations: 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.' Jealousy and envy, the harsh rigorism which binds needless burdens upon men, self-satisfaction and unreality, and (perhaps worst of all) the spirit of contempt, on all these He threw the searchlight of His indignation. He had much to say of sins of selfish inaction, such as that of Dives who simply did nothing when he might have helped the beggar at his gate, or those would-be disciples who found at the great Judgement that in failing to succour the unhappy they had failed to succour their Lord. Is it not just those sins which we have most signally failed to detect, and to overcome? Individual Christians or groups of Christians have been awake to the shameful contrast between blatant luxury and sordid poverty—not the honour-

able poverty which may help a man to be rich towards God, but the squalid destitution which depresses and degrades : members or groups of members in the Christian Church have fought against the misery of slums or sweated labour, and the waste of infant life ; but it cannot be said that the Church has given its corporate witness against these evils. This failure is partly due to a belief that such questions are a matter for careful study and well thought-out political action—which is true—and to the inference, which is wholly false, that therefore they have nothing to do with our religion. Nothing human is alien to Him who took our whole nature upon Him ; and these evils are ultimately due to selfishness and a virtual denial of His sovereignty. A Church which is out to destroy the works of the devil must set its face against such evils. There is room here for a far-reaching repentance.

(iii) Many of these works of the devil are due to a denial of Christian fellowship. In the long run there are only two relationships possible between man and man—antagonism and fellowship ; the war among the nations has revealed to us how much of the war spirit there has been in our own national life. It is obvious in our politics, in our industry, in our class relationships. And the worst of it is that there has been far too much of it within the Church itself. ‘By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another.’ In Apostolic times it was a familiar thought that ‘philadelphia’—love among those who were joint-members of Christ—should lead the way up to ‘agape’—love of all for whom Christ died. Here is one more call to Repentance in the Church. There has not been a true fellowship even among those who kneel at the same Altar : some of the abuses which were scourged by St. James still exist. Moreover the bitterness which too often has accompanied our unhappy divisions has made Christendom a byword. The divisions themselves, deplorable as they are, are not the real scandal : the mischief lies in the refusal to try to understand the other position, the recourse to low controversial devices, the bitter and scornful temper. Thank God, the trouble

is less acute than it was ; but there is need enough for repentance. Within the Church itself the strife of parties is less acute than it was thirty years ago, but it is still bad enough. The word 'Kikuyu' for instance brings an unpleasant taste with it : it speaks of a difficult problem the solution of which admits of quite legitimate differences of opinion : no one can complain about that. But there is a Kikuyu temper, hard, intractable, unwilling to attempt to understand—a temper which breeds scorn, threatenings and mistrust. We have got to repent of that temper if we are to stand the test of our Lord's judgement.

Is the picture drawn in over-dark colours ? It may be so, and I do not for one moment overlook the faithful and zealous work which in many places is being done for the seeking and saving of the lost, nor the brave fight which many are making against the powers of evil : nor do I doubt that the Spirit of Love ' Who maketh men to be of one mind in an house ' is at work in the Church of God. But it is best to confess the truth that the Church as a whole has not gripped the nation : the majority of men do not turn to it for inspiration and strength.

Where shall we find Repentance ? The Bishop of Durham has given us the right answer.¹ Our great need is a ' breaking out of the Glory ' of Jesus Christ. The discovery of His Love and Power : the vision of His Beauty in the Revelation of His Truth : the contact with His personal Love and Power in the Sacraments of His Grace : this is our great and crying need. It is the vision of God, not the thought of our own failures, which will win us to Repentance. And in that vision we shall also find a living Hope. We shall no longer go about our work vaguely and uncertainly, there will not be so many discouraged, dispirited, disappointed men among us. We shall know that the Hope for the individual, of union with God in Christ, and the Hope for a real manifestation of the Kingdom of God in the whole society, relate not merely to some ' far-off divine event ' but to a near fulfilment

¹ *Studies in Revival.*

of God's purpose. We shall know that 'the Son of God is come and hath given us an understanding that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true.'

When by the Grace of God the Church itself has gained this new Repentance and Hope, it will be able to give an effective witness, and to preach a strong, complete and constructive Gospel to the Nation. Old misconceptions will disappear. Men will no longer think of Christianity as a selfish religion in which each person is out for his own happiness, in this world or the next : they will see that we are saved in order to serve. They will not indeed think that we despise the 'other world,' for the other world is all around us : we are fellow-citizens with the saints, and live and walk in the Presence of the unseen Master : but they will know that our belief in the unseen world rouses us to a keener interest in all that belongs to the life of man here and now, because it teaches us the worth and dignity of one who has so high a destiny. It will be evident that the Church is not a self-seeking institution, more sensitive to its interests than to its vocation, but a great brotherhood, witnessing to the highest truths, inspired with a spirit of service, ready for heroic ventures, as may befit God's instrument for uplifting the world.

Is the National Mission really likely to accomplish so great a result ? At least that is the purpose at which we must aim. Both in our months of Preparation, and in the special effort of the autumn, we shall try to gain God's gifts of Repentance and of Hope in the Church, so that the Church may do its duty by the Nation. And it is by going out of itself, by making a bold venture of evangelism, that the Church will gain the power for more faithful and effective service in the future.

IV

'We know what a Parochial Mission is—or a General Mission in a town ; its plan and method are well established, but the idea of this "National Mission" seems to be vague,

and suggestions about its method nebulous.' We appreciate the criticism : there is only one possible answer to it. The purpose of the Movement is clear enough : in the methods of the campaign there is room for the greatest possible variety. We look to the Central Council for our strategy : the tactics will be left to each Diocese : and the general staff of a diocese will be wise if it encourages enterprize and initiative in the Rural Deaneries and Parishes. But I will be rash enough to make some suggestions about methods (i) in the Autumn effort ; (ii) in the preparation for it.

(i) There are some main principles which will be the same everywhere.

(a) The Mission must be begun, continued, and ended in *Prayer*. It is to be hoped that in every Parish it may be found possible to have a Daily Celebration of Holy Communion during the time of the Mission. This Sacrament represents the great sacrifice which alone makes Repentance possible, it brings us to the Fountain from which all the Church's resources of love and power are constantly derived. It gives a rallying point for all our prayers, and an inspiration to all our hopes.

Throughout the rest of the day the Church should be a house of prayer ; there should be services of Intercession suited to different classes of worshippers : it should become the most natural thing in the world for people to go into the Church for a few minutes of Prayer. In cottage, in school, in open street, prayer should be offered. Is it not clear that the Holy Spirit, who alone can renew and revive, comes in answer to Prayer, and that a special blessing is promised to united prayer ?

(b) The *Message of the Mission* must be strong, and clear. We need no excited appeals to the emotion, no sentimentalism, but steady teaching which brings home the claim of Christ—crucified, risen, ever living—to the heart, the conscience and the will. Of course no new Gospel is wanted : but we have to take care that our message includes those elements of our Lord's teaching, as to sin, eternal judgement, righteousness, and discipline

which fit on to the hard facts of a suffering world. We are in no danger of forgetting the love of God, but (as the Bishop of Worcester has reminded us) our first need just now is to remember the Majesty, and Mastery, of God.

(c) It is of the first importance that the Mission should touch the *homes of the people*. Many of the homes have been stirred by anxiety or sorrow: it is the home which has to be made ready for the men when they return; the home is our strategic point. Let the homes be visited both by the priest, and by laymen and women, who shew that they share the priesthood of the whole Church by their priestly gift of sympathy. There must be nothing intrusive or patronizing; but there need be no cowardice about speaking of the deepest things: there are few homes where an offer to pray for absent friends would not be welcomed.¹

(d) The whole army of the faithful communicants must be mobilized. If strong and faithful preaching is the artillery, our layfolk by their prayers, their witness, and their service, will be the advancing infantry. There is great opportunity here for the Mothers' Union, the Girls' Friendly Society, and the Girls' Diocesan Associations. I speak of the women first, for after all the women now form the large majority of the people within reach. But the Church of England Men's Society can do yeoman service not only by influencing the men who are left in the country but also by keeping in close touch with their comrades in training or at the Front. It will be well for them to co-operate with the wise and enterprising 'League of Spiritual War.'

(e) We must not forget the children. It is easy enough to move them to patriotism: but we want them to see that God's war is going on all the time, and that it is by fighting against selfishness, in the power of Jesus Christ, that lasting victory and true peace are to be won. And we wish to teach them how they can help our soldiers, and further God's cause, by their prayers. Therefore let us use all the opportunities offered by the Day School

¹ In the Hereford Diocese there has been a well-planned and successful effort to revive the custom of Family Prayer.

and the Sunday School, and by all means let us have special services for them, in which there will be more prayer than preaching.

All these features will, I believe, be found in our campaign wherever it is fought. But there are other elements in which the Mission will vary widely.

(a) As to *Missioners*. In some places the Parish Priest will conduct his own Mission. That is the plan which Bishop Montgomery recommends.¹ 'Every priest must be asked to sweep before his own door. As in the days of Nehemiah, every family must build the wall where it is broken down before his own house.' But there are many places which will want the help of someone who has gifts and training as an evangelist; and I believe that there is an immense fund of latent evangelistic power among the clergy and laity of every diocese which only waits a great occasion to call it forth.² Every Bishop might ask some sixty or eighty of his clergy to place themselves in readiness to go wherever they are wanted during the two months of the Mission, leaving their own parish (perhaps) till the end, and seeking the support of their people's prayers during their absence.

(b) As to *time*. In some parishes the special work of teaching and prayer might be continued for a month: in other places only two or three days may be possible. Where the people are very busy all the week, the effort must be concentrated on the Sundays: where there are a good many people of leisure, there should be continuous intercession.

(c) As to *method*. Though the National Mission is not a general parochial Mission throughout the country, there are some parishes where a regular Mission might be preached on the familiar lines. This has been done with excellent

¹ *Life's Journey*, p. 135.

² In a paper called *The Lost Evangelist*, by Rev. J. A. Sharrock (publisher, E. G. Humphreys, Worcester), some excellent suggestions are given for a permanent body of Evangelists who should supplement the ordinary pastoral work of the parish. The adoption of such a plan would be a welcome result of the National Mission.

effect in the Diocese of Salisbury. In some towns it might be well to hold united services or meetings on the weekday evenings in some central hall, or in the open air (October is often not too cold), and, in spite of our divisions, it really would be possible to find preachers who could be trusted to be both evangelical and catholic! In many a country parish services or meetings would be held in cottages and in outlying farms. There is no end to the possible varieties. Initiative, enterprize, adaptability and sanctified common-sense can strike out the plan of campaign best suited to each parish or neighbourhood.

(ii) But whatever the plan or method, one condition is essential—careful preparation.

The first people to be prepared are the clergy, and the first need for the clergy is opportunity for silence, for meditation, and for renewal of the aspirations and the inspiration of their Ordination. Retreats are a necessity. The Bishop of Worcester led the way with his notable Retreat at Malvern: other Dioceses have arranged times and occasions of devotion for the clergy: the time has usually been far too short, and it is very difficult to arrange such places and times for real retirement as would be available for all the clergy. But the attempt ought to be made. Apart from such retreats, busy Parish Priests will have to do the greater part of their preparation in the quiet of their own prayer-rooms or studies or of their Churches. But groups of clergy in each Deanery will doubtless find opportunity for united prayer and devotional study. For acquiring special knowledge of good evangelistic methods a 'training week' would be most useful: but the time is short, and if choice has to be made between a 'training week' and a week of retreat, there can be no doubt which must be sacrificed.

To the workers—and that should mean many of the communicants—all possible help should be given. We have taught them in our Communicants' Guilds that they want God; let us teach them quite as clearly that God wants them, and that they are saved in order to serve. Let us stir them up to pray for the spirit of St. Andrew, and let

us shew the women that there is plenty of room both for the Marthas and the Maries. Some plain and practical counsel in Mission work might be given in various centres by experts in Mission work. But the devotional training is the main thing, and each Parish Priest will do his best to give it. There is one special bit of preparation, available for the country districts, which is full of possibilities. There can be no doubt that the *Pilgrimage of Prayer* was of the greatest possible service to those parishes which it visited. The number of Pilgrims is limited, but those dioceses and parishes which are fortunate enough to secure their help will know that they have gained the most effectual means for a real Mission,—a number of people who have learnt to pray.

Moreover we must remove hindrances to prayer. Bishop Montgomery has some pointed suggestions to make :

‘Let every church in the United Kingdom be open from morning till night. If in every place it needs a guardian, let it be provided as an honourable occupation. Let every church be free and open for the next twelve months, all pew rents put on one side, and the money found by other means. Let the clergy and workers freely use the church for their private prayers at all hours. Nothing helps a shy man so much as the sight of others at prayer. Let plenty of aids to prayer be provided. Let no confession of sin in any church or cathedral be said “on G” for the whole of the twelve months, and let the natural voice be used as much as possible ; if possible for all prayers for twelve months. Let us see to it that no prayer or service is gabbled for twelve months. I apologise to the clergy, who may rightly be insulted by this imputation. It is made for their sakes. Let solemn silences be introduced into our services, and by those who know how to utilise silence.

‘Let services be held on Sundays and on week-days at hours which may be most unconventional but yet as fitted as possible to the needs of all. Let sermons be short and devoted to the most fundamental truths, and preached from the heart ; if possible written so that they may not suffer from diffuseness. Let the reading of the lessons be made a subject of prayer by the clergy, so that these passages of Scripture may be riveted on the attention of the people. They can be made such intense sermons

that no other sermon seems needful. Let the administration of the Sacraments—Baptism and Holy Communion—be made overwhelmingly solemn and understood by all. Let humble and unaffected visitation become for twelve months the duty of all the clergy, as also the faithful teaching of children on week-days. It seems to me that even such details open out before us a vista with a bright light upon it and boundless hope for the future.’¹

Canon Harford pointedly adds :

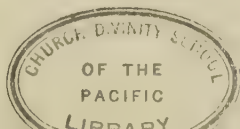
‘ a ruthless sacrifice is demanded of all customs, rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, sensibilities, prejudices, and precedences whether of dignitaries or other clergy, wardens, pewholders, churchworkers, etc., which hinder the prosecution of the Mission as the supreme task of the Church in this year of unparalleled opportunity.’

V

Let us leave the discussion of methods and return to the purpose of the Mission. I stated that our immediate objective is the renewal of Repentance and Hope within the Church itself in order that God may use the Church to win the Nation to Repentance and Hope. It follows that the Mission is only a beginning : it is a push all along the enemy’s line ; but the advance must follow and the campaign must go on till victory is gained. The final victory when Christ ‘ shall put all enemies under His feet ’ may be far off—we do not know. But we hope that by the power of the Spirit of God, working in us at this tremendous time, a great forward movement will begin its course. Perhaps it may not come till after the war ; the time is in His hands, and His will, not ours, must determine whither the movement shall lead.

But it must lead towards God, for our relation to Him is the one thing which supremely matters. Neglect of God, forgetfulness of God—that has been the root evil of our generation. Other evils have flowed from it—social injustice, jealousy, war between class and class, and between nation and nation, drunkenness, lust, pride, neglect

¹ *Life’s Journey*, p. 138.



of prayer, abuse of the Lord's Day, and all other works of the devil, the world and the flesh. Our first need is that we should get back to God. We want conversion, and in a nation which calls itself Christian, conversion means the acceptance of Christ as King.

Now if Christ is King, He must be King everywhere, and I cannot forbear speaking of three departments of life and action, in which our nation needs to recognize His Sovereignty.

First we must enthrone Him in our Homes. It is here that the denial of Him has been most deadly. We have long ago got past the stage when men used to say 'Let us abolish Christian dogma and hold to Christian morals'; it is the Christian standard of morals that has been challenged; and when once men begin to substitute the Pagan principles of self-development or 'will to live,' or 'will to power,' for the Christian principle of Love, the first attack always falls on the Christian law of purity, and the Christian ideal of marriage. Now our safety as an Empire, and our life as a Church, depend on the sacredness of the family. 'Heroes cannot save a country where the idea of the family is degraded; and strong battalions are of no avail against homes guarded by faith and reverence and love.'¹ We must abolish those outward conditions which make home life impossible: we must train our lads and girls in reverent knowledge and self-control, and we must give them positive ideals of the sanctity of the body, and the sacredness of the love that creates the home. We must cherish all that makes home one, and, as all unity is of God, we must try to bring our homes back to the prayer which unites the members of the family to God and to each other.

Secondly we must seek for unity and brotherhood in the larger family of the nation. That means the enthronement of Christ in our politics, our commerce, and our industry. Where He is King, there we must find the fellowship of mutual service, not the antagonisms of private

¹ Bishop Westcott, quoted by the Bishop of Edinburgh, *This Time and its Interpretation*, p. 135.

self-seeking. We are not called on to advocate particular economic or political theories, but it is our clear duty to proclaim in the name of Christ that 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female, there is neither bond nor free'—there must be no strife nor antagonism nor wilful misunderstanding between nations or classes or sexes—'for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' And that oneness is impossible within the nation unless the labourer counts as a man rather than a hand, and has some sort of partnership in the undertaking to which he gives his work. Moreover it is idle to expect that the spirit of service will live on if there is no scope for its exercise. Men have worked splendidly in the service of the nation: they will continue to serve in the field of industry if the service is plainly for the public good: if it is merely for private profit, the great motive is lost beyond recovery. If we look back on our past history we shall find here real need for confession and amendment. Assuredly also a national repentance must include a repentance for those sins of unbrotherly neglect—the waste of infant life, the underpayment of labour, the thoughtless luxury, the tolerance of disgusting slums—which cannot easily be brought home to any individual, but for which we shall all have to give account: and a national hope cannot but bring up a vision of an England poorer, it may be, in material wealth but rich in the passion for justice, the generous sympathy, the willing service of citizens who know themselves to be brothers because they have learnt to know the one Father of us all, and the Elder Brother to whom nothing human can be alien, because our whole human nature is His own. And when we have exorcized the war spirit from our nation we shall be on the way to banish it from the world, and we shall be ready for a fellowship of nations each of which will be free to develop its gifts and to offer its service for the good of the whole world.

Thus we are led to a yet greater movement, the third line of advance for a converted nation. Christ enthroned in the home: the sovereignty of Christ established in our social life: then the Kingdom of Christ effectively pro-

claimed to all the nations. It has long been a familiar thought that God has given us our Empire in order that we may take the lead in bringing His best gifts to the world. May we not hope that at last the nation may see the splendid vision of the kingdoms of the world becoming the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ, and may answer God's call? Here is the one adequate opportunity for the splendid and heroic self-sacrifice to which God has been training us and which the war has revealed. It can find no lasting inspiration but in the Cross, and no sufficient fields for its further conquests unless it sets forth to win the world for God under the command of the risen Lord.

J. A. LICHFIELD.

ART. IV.—THE NATIONAL MISSION— A SUGGESTION.

A Chaplet of Prayer. By MARCELL W. T. CONRAN, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Chaplain to the Forces. (London: Printed for the Confraternity of the Chaplet, 245 Camden Road, N.)

WE read of doubts expressed whether it is wise to have a National Mission in the coming autumn. It is pointed out with much truth that there will be a difficulty in getting Missioners, that the time appointed is either too soon, or too far off, that evening services will not be allowed, and men's minds will be too much pre-occupied to take serious part in such an effort, and so on. But is not the real reason at the back of the minds of most of us a doubt whether God has really called us to the work, and given us the clear message that the present moment needs? Without this call and clear message the Mission will prove as disappointing as other efforts of the same kind have proved of late. Parochial Missions through the past few years, though they have no doubt been helpful to the faithful, have done little to touch the mass of the people, at any rate in the towns,

who have come to look upon them simply as efforts to bring them to church and to join in services which they do not understand, which they feel to be dull because they give them no help in the worship of God, or in guidance for their lives. For such reasons as these churches are deserted to-day. Other difficulties can be got over, but the question whether we have the clear message to give to these people in such a way that they may take hold of it, understand it and work it into their lives to guide them, and may spread it abroad through the length and breadth of the land, to change the relations of man to man, and to bring in the Kingdom of God—this is a primary question. Given our message, and the method of proclaiming it, other difficulties will vanish; but if we go to the work without the clear message and the right way of conveying it, we shall be but as an army going into battle without rifles, or without the knowledge how to use them.

Few can doubt that men need such a divine message. They are quite clear that Germany is wrong in the way she is waging war, and in the cruelties she has been guilty of, and that she is a danger to the world, herself included; and they are ready to a man to lay down their lives to defend their country from her. But few are able to go any further. They tell you that war is a necessary evil in such a world as this, that it is the only corrective for nations when they begin seriously to degenerate. They look with anxiety at the progress of nations, and classes of people other than those they belong to, and wonder how long it will be before they become a menace to their own positions. They cannot conceive of nations or classes of people reaching a higher moral standard, and desiring not merely not to hinder, but to help their neighbours, and aiming at the greatest good of the whole world. For they know of no spiritual power, God's gift, which might do all that war does in inspiring, and purifying, and drawing people together, without its horror and destruction. They talk about such a peace as would make what we are going through impossible for the next generation; but they have no idea of a higher motive, which could so win upon the

hearts of nations that they would work for peace, not simply because war means suffering and destruction, but out of loyalty to the Prince of Peace, and in the power of His Spirit and with a conviction that such peace might be lasting.

For we are bound to acknowledge that in past years the Church in our land has failed to give them God's message in such a way as might be understood and might inspire them, and guide them in their labour disputes and unrest. Now and then some strong and good man has brought his personal power to bear on the troubles of the time. But he helped us only for the moment, and seems to have left behind him no permanent light and uplifting. When he was gone, things drifted back into much the same state as they were before. Perhaps the time was not yet come when men would listen to such a spiritual message, and they had first to find by bitter experience that the wisdom of the world could only fail them until they should be willing to listen to the wisdom of God. Be this as it may, men are to-day looking for some great idea which can enter into their lives and consciences, and change both them and their relations to each other, and draw nations together in love instead of hating and distrusting each other. They get from America the idea of 'humanity,' but it does not inspire them. When they are fighting for their lives, and the lives of those nearest and dearest to them, it does not help them very much to be lectured in the name of humanity on laws which may lessen the horrors of war a little. At a crisis, when all depends on victory, the idea of humanity is apt, as we have seen, to go to the wall. At such a time men need some stronger motive, and a power which will enable them to act up to their ideal when passions are let loose; otherwise the lower part of man's nature will get the upper hand, and he will behave like a wild beast. We know that in the Church we have both this motive and this power, and the National Mission may by the grace of God be our opportunity to tell men so, and to point out to them that Christ's Life is the ideal both for individuals, and for the state, and that His Holy Spirit of love and peace is the power by which they may

live up to it. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth. . . .' We know not how He may work, or whither He may lead us. We only know of His power and guidance in the past history of the world, and we believe that if only we give up ourselves to Him in faith, He can do all that Christ has promised. For it is no new state of things that we are called upon to face. Christianity came to the Roman Empire and found it corrupt and tottering to its fall, and it brought to it the message of life, chiefly heard and taken hold of by the poor, the uneducated, and the slaves; it inspired them not only with new ideals, but with power also, till through them it permeated the whole of society. And not only then, but many times since it has done the same. St. Antony, St. Benedict, St. Francis of Assisi, John Wesley, Dr. Pusey—each came and gave his message to the men of his day, and brought people back into living relation to Christ, and His Spirit did what was needed in leading them in the one way, till they saw the truth, and were filled with the new life; thus the light that had been obscured for a time flashed forth again and again with new brightness.

But it will be said that this message is very old, and that we have been preaching it ever since we began to preach at all, that people hear but do not believe, that they have no faith in any such power or guidance of God, either for themselves or for the nation, that such a message is incomprehensible to the ordinary men of to-day, who come to church and listen, and go away again unconvinced.

Then must we not try another way? In childhood they learned religion in the Day and Sunday Schools as they learned other tasks that never reached their hearts, so they soon forgot all about it. They listened occasionally to a sermon that left no permanent impression because there followed no practical duty fulfilled in response to it. Now we have to teach religion all over again in such a way that the lesson shall enter their hearts as well as their minds and shall result in some duty to be performed that shall bring Christ into their lives, and enable them to increase

daily in His Holy Spirit. And surely the way to do this is to teach them to pray ; and that not first of all, as we have taught them in the past, by giving them collects to learn, which as a rule lead those who are beginning their Christian life to think chiefly of their wants, and failings, and sins, but rather, as St. Paul taught the Corinthians, by teaching them to ‘ call upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ ’¹ ; which seems to mean that when they prayed they concentrated their minds not first or chiefly upon their sins, or even upon their wants, but upon all that Jesus Christ is, and all that He has done and is still doing for us now in Heaven. They called on Him by the merits of each separate event in His Life, to save and to help them, till His life so grew into their hearts and minds that it became their very own, from His Birth in Bethlehem to His Agony in the Garden, His bearing of the Cross, His Death and Burial, His Resurrection, His Ascension, and His continual presence with us in His Church. Thus they learned to feel that they were not alone, that a hand was ever over their lives guiding them all day long, that grace was given them to follow Christ, and to see the wonder of the Christian life. Their hearts burned to go out and tell to everyone what they had found in Christ, so that others might feel, and see, and share their treasure. In this way their religion became to them no mere lesson which they learned by rote, nor a mere code of morals, but ‘ the power of God unto salvation ’ practically realized in their lives every day. And the happy change came to them in one way. Repentance had to do with it, they had to turn from sin ; discipline had to do with it, they had to be built up in the faith. But what brought the power, and the joy, and the wonder of it all into their lives, was neither the repentance alone, or the discipline alone, but it was the ‘ calling upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ ’ so that they became filled with His Spirit and power. The result of so learning Christ was that rather than deny Him they endured everything that man can endure, and at last the Roman Empire

¹ 1 Cor. i 2.

surrendered to their faithful witness. We read that a like religious movement happened in the time of St. Francis of Assisi ; suddenly there appeared again in the world this new life, new power, new joy that drew men to enrol themselves under the humble man's leadership, and to go out and preach the Gospel to all the world. So too in the Methodist Revival in our own land. The same result has followed again and again whenever men have learned to come to Christ, and to call on His Name for help and guidance. Men of few gifts have found courage to go out and preach and teach with wonderful effect in the power that the Holy Spirit ever gives to those who seek Him. And so it may be again in our own land through the National Mission. But this happy result can follow only on the one condition, that both before the Mission comes, and while it is in progress we set ourselves to learn to *call upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ*, as the Corinthians under St. Paul's direction learned to do of old.

There is a simple method of prayer that has been used in the Church for hundreds of years, by which men are trained to meditate on the sacred mysteries of our Lord's Life, planting them in their minds through repetition. Perhaps we all find meditation difficult. It requires strict training to learn to fix our minds for any length of time on any subject, especially in days like these when we have lost as a rule the power of steady thought through the hurry and bustle of the world, and nothing makes any permanent impression upon us. An elementary school-teacher told me that she generally read a novel a day, but that she never remembered anything that she read. So it happens also with most people's prayers: they hurry them through to get them over, and hardly realize at all what they are saying. Now if we are to arrest the attention of such people, to help them to fix their minds on the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and call upon Him for help by the power of all that He is, all that He has done, and is now doing for us in Heaven, I believe our only method is, as I have said, to teach them to repeat the sacred mysteries of His Life, and to turn them into prayer.

We can say the words either three times, as our Lord said the same words three times in His prayer in Gethsemane, or ten times, followed by the Lord's Prayer after each mystery, in order to give them time to concentrate their thoughts, and to ponder over the mystery they are contemplating. Thus :

- By Thy Holy Nativity, save us and help us, O Lord.
By Thine Agony and Bloody Sweat, save us and help us,
 O Lord.
By Thy precious Death and Burial, save us and help us,
 O Lord.
By Thy glorious Resurrection, save us and help us,
 O Lord.
By Thy wonderful Ascension, save us and help us,
 O Lord.
By Thine all-prevailing Intercession in Heaven, save us
 and help us, O Lord ;

and so on.—Save us, that is, from sin, from our enemies, from all that would harm body or soul, and from eternal death. Is not this such a prayer as we need to-day for our people : yes, and for ourselves, the teachers as well, that we may learn to ' call upon the Name of the Lord ' as the Corinthians of old ? And, if we do so, shall we not learn to know Christ both in our hearts and minds ? and shall we not be enriched by His Spirit, and receive the power that sent the Christians of old out into the world, and inspired them to proclaim their message in such a way that nothing could withstand them ? Stirring sermons will help, they will rouse attention ; but if the facts of Christ's Life are unknown by those who hear, sermons are not enough. We must bring some method of prayer that will teach people to fix their minds on the facts of our Lord's Life, and plead them before Him, not for a moment or two when they feel inclined, but with perseverance that will be discipline,—will command the attention, and keep it from wandering off to other things, till each sacred event in turn has gradually become a reality to them, and enters into their very lives. I feel confident when I say that the

regular repetition of the Sacred Mysteries can do this, and can give a joy and an interest in life not only to the learned, and to those who have special privileges of time and opportunity, but to all, even the uneducated, and the men and women who work from morning to night. Only lately a chaplain told me of a man from an Irish regiment who had been sent down to the hospital wounded, and who practised such a devotion. The man brought out the little book that he used, *A Chaplet of Prayer*, and proceeded to explain it to his visitor; what struck the chaplain most was the great interest the man appeared to have in his way of prayer, and his earnest desire to interest others in it.

But of course if we are going to teach others to use such prayers we must first of all have found out what it means to ourselves by our own personal use. And I know that it is no light venture to take up a new, unfamiliar devotion. It seems so much like going back to our childhood's first lessons in prayer. And it is true that it is a very elementary way of approach to God. Any child, a newly converted man may at once begin to use it. I can never forget how a poor man, long fallen away from religion, used it one Sunday morning after he had received his Communion, and knew he had but one more hour to live, changing the words to 'Save me and help me, O Lord.' Yet it is also a prayer that can be used by the saint far advanced in holiness, for none can ever fathom the significance of the great mysteries of Christ's Life and Death and Resurrection. A great Roman Catholic lay theologian told a friend of mine that he liked to join with the ordinary people in their simple devotions; in the contemplation of the Sacred Mysteries of Christ's Life he found the way in which he could best do so.

I believe that if both before and during the National Mission we could all, both Priests and people, set ourselves to practise such a devotion, both in church and elsewhere, as for instance when we are walking down the street or in the country, and if we could make the Mission to hinge on it, we should leave in the hearts of our people a devotion that would continually deepen the knowledge of Christ's

Life within them ; I believe that they would receive the daily increase of His Spirit, and would gain the power the early Christians found in their prayer to resist the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the Devil. Certainly they would have by heart a devotion that they could use anywhere, and at any time, since it is so easily remembered. Might we not hope then that the Mission would sow the seed of a religious revival that would bring forth fruit to the glory of God, and would remain ?

M. W. T. CONRAN, S.S.J.E.

ART. V.—SOME MORAL PROBLEMS OF THE WAR.

1. *The World in the Crucible.* By SIR GILBERT PARKER.
(London : John Murray. 1915.)
2. *The Nation*, September 18, 1915. Art. 'The Unfinished World.' (London : 10 Adelphi Terrace, W.C.)
3. *The Pentecost of Calamity.* By OWEN WISTER.
(London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1915.)

THE present conflict, while it offers new problems to the nations in regard to organization, and offensive and defensive warfare, nevertheless faces us with comparatively little that is new in respect of problems of thought. Modern science has indeed changed methods of warfare just as it has transformed most of the external aspects of daily life ; but it has not changed God, the Universe, and the Human Soul. Thus, while the war has perplexed millions of religious people with doubts and difficulties it has done little except confront us with questions that indeed are never quite absent from the deeper thought of the race, and which are only new in the sense that they are now presented in an urgent and intensified form. Men are asking to-day, as they have asked ever since they began to think at all, Is there a God, and if so, is He good ? If He is good, why does He then

permit so much suffering in the world? Or is He good without being omnipotent? Does God know all; and, in the face of so much that perplexes, can there be a purpose running through the ages? Perhaps, indeed, we might say that the fundamental problem behind it all is the world-old question 'Whence and why is Evil?'

To say that it would be possible to answer these things with any completeness would be more than presumptuous. But the fact remains that all classes of people to-day are looking to religious and philosophical teachers to make at least some attempt at the solution of these insistent problems, and religion is being largely judged by the answers which they give. Accordingly, it will be well to attempt the formulation of a point of view that can be maintained in these days of doubt.

The appalling waste and destruction, not only of life and property, but of the very fabric of civilization; the prostitution of intellect and science to base ends; the overthrowing of ideals and the denial of moral sanctions: all these things seem to afford some excuse for asking, Can there indeed be a beneficent purpose in the world? A beneficent purpose implies a beneficent personality behind it; and at this stage we hope we shall not seem to beg the question if we say that the postulate that such a purpose exists is a necessary one to all rational human life. Were this not so, we should find no more meaning and joy in living than would be found by the unfortunate passengers in an express train of which the driver had lost control. To suppose the Author of the Universe to be in the position of that driver would be to postulate the existence of a Supreme Being distinctly inferior to some of the noblest minds on earth—the Whole less than the part, which is absurd. If life is to be held as being worth living at all, it must be on the understanding that life is on the whole the expression of a purpose, however imperfectly understood that purpose may be.

The nature of that purpose is the chief problem before us, and we naturally inquire whether such a purpose can in any sense be described as including the element which is called Evil. Supposing God to be omnipotent and good, why

does He suffer the existence of that which obviously strives for other than beneficent ends ? Such a malevolent system of forces is well exemplified in the present war, which precipitates, though it does not create, the questions we are attempting to discuss.

It will be well to inquire here whether the conception of an omnipotent God in the absolute sense is at all possible, and it would seem that, unless we seek to overthrow the idea of God as a moral Being, we must hold that He can only be relatively and not absolutely omnipotent—relatively, that is, to His other qualities of goodness, wisdom, and so forth. Dr. T. B. Strong, in his *Manual of Theology*, has well warned us against the isolation of God's attribute of power 'to the detriment, (and) even to the exclusion of His loftier prerogatives.' Hence we shall find it more correct to describe the Supreme Being as *self-limited*, not only by His having entrusted to His creatures a certain measure of free-will, but also by His having imparted to the world of nature those observed uniformities of action which we describe as natural laws. God, in His inscrutable wisdom, has chosen to limit Himself in these ways ; and He has conditioned His own power by His own goodness, wisdom, providence, and love. To regard Him as being unconditioned even by the laws of His own Being, to hold that He is omnipotent in the absolute sense, is unconsciously to compare Him to an Oriental despot or tyrant. God, however, is not a despot, but rather a constitutional monarch, although all such comparisons must necessarily be very imperfect in describing Him. God, it has been well said, is 'mighty enough to make laws, and too mighty to break them.' He governs His universe constitutionally and not tyrannically ; and His constitutional government (which is the true model for all earthly sovereignty) necessarily involves the voluntary limitation of His own powers. It may be pointed out that this is quite in keeping with what we learn of the character of God in our Lord Jesus Christ ; since the self-limitation of God, in calling into being persons and forces capable of offering a limited resistance to His will, is the foreshadowing of the Cross aeons before the Incarnation. Creation implies

self-limitation, and therefore voluntary suffering, on the part of the Creator :

‘ One God in every seed self-sacrificed,
One star-eyed, star-crowned, universal Christ
Re-crucified in every way-side flower.’

When we apply this thought to the general problems of moral and metaphysical evil, and to the special difficulties created by the war (which, after all, form but a fraction of the larger puzzle), we see that only a shallow thinker would maintain that God has been checked and baffled by the powers that He Himself has called into being. The present and past existence of evil in the world, in a very positive and definite form, cannot be denied. Along with evil goes its necessary concomitant, pain. To hold that the presence of these elements in the universe is a sheer accident pure and simple would not imply a very high view of God’s power and foresight ; and hence it is reasonable to believe, with Archdeacon Wilberforce and other thinkers of similar tendency, that while God cannot be described as being the originator of Evil as such, He is the author of those conditions of existence under which evil becomes a possibility, and without which possibility there could be no real goodness. A mechanically flawless universe might reveal God’s power, but it is difficult to see how it would reveal anything else. The universe as it is, could we but see it steadily and see it whole, would reveal infinitely more than God’s power. It would reveal His patience, His age-long wisdom, His carefulness for the moral development of His creatures, and for the gradual perfecting of all forms of life. The older apologists, by ignoring the hostile elements in the natural world, regarded the universe very largely as a series of contrivances designed for the shewing forth of God’s ‘ glory,’ but to-day we should be a little disappointed in God’s character if that were the only or the deepest purpose in the universe. As Professor James remarked, our God must be a more cosmic and a more tragic Being than that. The deeper law seems not to be ‘ life in spite of death, good in spite of evil, order in spite of confusion ’ : no, it is rather ‘ life by means of death, good

out of evil, order occasioned by apparent confusion, and victory by means of seeming defeat.' It has been well said that 'the Cross is the ground-plan of the universe,' and the Cross stands for the voluntary self-limitation of the Omnipotent for the higher good of the universe which He has made. Robert Browning strikes this deep note when he says :

' There shall never be one lost good ! What was, shall live as before ;

The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound ;

What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more ;

On the earth the broken arcs ; in the heaven a perfect round.

And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence

For the fulness of the days ? Have we withered or agonized ?

Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might issue thence ?

Why rushed the discords in but that harmony should be prized ?'

The presence of evil in the world does not mean that God has been baffled and outwitted. It is fairly obvious that the whole progress of civilization has been a continuous resistance to and overcoming of the obstacles presented by a natural order of things that seems indifferent and even hostile to man's progress ; and since the inner as well as the outer life of the individual very largely recapitulates that of the race, we can easily see that all the most desirable elements in an ideal character would never be perfected without that element of resistance and strife which the possibility of evil supplies.

We do not mean that the problem of evil can be completely solved from this point of view ; but it seems possible that a partial solution at least may thus be found for a puzzle which cannot be completely unravelled until human knowledge is co-extensive with the facts involved. But the time is not yet come of that crowning race :

' Of those that, eye to eye shall look

On knowledge ; under whose command

Is Earth and Earth's, and in their hand

Is Nature like an open book.'

It has been suggested that evil may be a sort of by-product of the cosmic process, and while having no place in the final consummation may be inseparable from the intermediate stages. Just as the by-products of various chemical processes, formerly considered to be useless refuse, are now known to contain substances of the highest value (thus radium, we believe, precious as it is, and costly, is now produced from one such by-product, pitchblende, which was formerly thrown away in large quantities), so the darker elements in the spiritual world may have their mysterious uses.

‘ It is Lucifer,
The son of mystery ;
And since God suffers him to be,
He labours for some good
By us not understood.’

Arguing on these lines, when we come to the limits within which pain and evil may be said to be educative, we begin to realize how human and cosmic pain may be redemptive. We can think of Calvary as being unique in degree rather than in kind, and as being the centre of a vast circle of redemptive suffering sweeping far away into the infinite past and the infinite future. As the writer of *John Inglesant* says :

‘ The Cross of Christ is composed of many other crosses—is the centre, the type, the essence of all crosses. We must suffer with Christ whether we believe in Him or not. We must suffer for the sin of others as for our own ; and in this suffering we find a healing and purifying power and element. This is what gives to Christianity, in its simplest and most unlettered form, its force and life. Sin and suffering for sin ; a sacrifice, itself mysterious, offered mysteriously to the Divine Nemesis or Law of Sin, dread, undefined, unknown, yet sure and irresistible, with the iron necessity of law.’

Or, as Sir Gilbert Parker says in his book *The World in the Crucible* :

‘ It seems to be a law of life, mysterious and sombre, that man can only win forward through the suffering of the innocent. . . . Great causes have been advanced as much by misery as by

valour, by the patent consequences of wrong as well as by the proclamation of right.'

This latter extract refers to the martyrdom of Belgium, and there can be little doubt that this has constituted one of the strongest emotional appeals to service in the present war.

We have seen that the presence of evil in the universe may have a deeper meaning than that which is commonly assigned to it, and that suffering can be both educative and redemptive ; but perhaps we may be excused for saying that whatever of truth lies in the position which has been outlined needs to be very carefully thought over before presentation to the average man. A careless enunciation of such principles, without sufficient safeguarding and explanation, may be productive of much harm. We know perfectly well how easy it is for a superficial hearer to run away with the impression that because the preacher says the presence and possibility of evil may have a purpose, therefore the sinner may indulge his lower nature with impunity. While one takes all due account of heredity and environment, and is willing to make the admission that in certain cases ' the predisposing causes of moral evil lie deeper than the will,' there is no getting away from the tremendous fact that God has given us enough freedom to make us responsible moral beings. We must live, and we must teach others to live, as if we were entirely free, knowing that we shall be judged not according to the things which have been determined for us, but according to those which we have determined for ourselves.

We now turn to a further consideration which may also help to lessen our perplexities when we find ourselves confronted by the stern facts of life. I mean the truth that was so well stated by Tennyson in some of his later poems, and which is also emphasized by other writers, *viz.* that the creative process is as yet *unfinished*, and that the moral problems that so distress us are the marks of incompleteness rather than of final imperfection. As a writer in *The Nation* recently remarked :

' On the supposition of a finished creation the world would be a tangle of conflicting and broken purposes, life meaningless,

God a dream. . . . But throughout the world is for us a thing not become but becoming, a design imperfectly realized, potential in process of reduction to actuality. . . . Were it not so, failure would be written large upon the world, life, and man. . . . It is in the moral and spiritual world that we escape from this ever evolving wheel of existence, and discern the complete as opposed to the incomplete values of life. . . .

Tennyson expresses this thought in his poem 'The Dawn':

' Dawn not Day !

Is it Shame, so few should have climb'd from the dens in the level below,

Men, with a heart and a soul, no slaves of a four-footed will ?

But if twenty million of summers are stored in the sunlight still,

We are far from the noon of man; there is time for the race to grow.

' Red of the Dawn !

Is it turning a fainter red ? so be it ; but when shall we lay
The Ghost of the Brute that is walking and haunting us yet,
and be free ?

In a hundred, a thousand winters ? Ah, what will *our* children be,

The men of a hundred thousand, a million summers away ? '

And again, in 'The Making of Man':

' Where is one that, born of woman, altogether can escape
From the lower world within him, moods of tiger, or of ape ?

Man as yet is being made, and ere the crowning Age of ages,
Shall not aeon after aeon pass and touch him into shape ?

' All about him shadow still, but, while the races flower and fade,

Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade
Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric

Hallelujah to the Maker " It is finish'd. Man is made." '

So much, then, for the general position of evil in the universe. But with all this we wish to make a distinct admission. While we believe that this attempted religious

and philosophical rationale of the presence of evil and pain in the world is on valid lines, we recognize the difficulty of applying it in any satisfactory way in individual cases of disaster and bereavement. I do not say that it cannot be thus applied, but stricken souls are not as a rule amenable to philosophizing and theologizing. I try to place myself in the position of a father who has had all his children killed in a London air-raid, or of a mother who has lost all her sons at the Front, or of a Belgian peasant whose home has been burnt and whose wife has been outraged. Were I such as they, would my faith stand the strain? Or even when we look into the ordinary background of sin and cruelty and suffering which is to be found even in normal times behind outwardly peaceful and respectable life, we have to admit that the structures of our theories, 'our schemes of the weal and the woe,' quiver uncomfortably at the thunderous logic of facts.

I have honestly tried to face this aspect of the problem, and I think that if it were my own lot to endure such terrible cruelties, disasters, and wrongs, God would mysteriously create in me some new fount of hope and spiritual energy, just as He ordains that the stump of a tree which has been cut down can yet start its growth again by putting forth new twigs which shall one day become great and vigorous branches. And just as such branches are often healthier and larger than the old ones which they replace, so I should have hope that my suffering might be fruitful and redemptive both for myself and others, and that its possible effects for good might not belong merely to the visible world.

'For there is nothing lives but something dies,
And there is nothing dies but something lives.'

If in humbleness I read my soul aright I cannot hear myself saying under such circumstances 'There is no God!' for then

'Earth were darkness to the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.'

Nay, rather, I trust that God would give me strength to

whisper 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away : blessed be the name of the Lord.'

This great question was at least honestly faced, though not solved, by the writer of the Book of Job ; and the climax of that book is not the triumph of careful reasoning but the sufferer's super-rational vision of the God whose ways he cannot fathom : 'I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear : but now mine eye seeth Thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.' As Professor William James wrote : 'Ratiocination is a relatively superficial and unreal path to the Deity. . . . An intellect perplexed and baffled, yet a trustful sense of presence—such is the situation of the man who is sincere with himself and with the facts, but who remains religious still.'

We have the same thought expressed in a great passage in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* :

' That which we dare invoke to bless ;
Our dearest faith ; our ghastliest doubt ;
He, They, One, All ; within, without ;
The Power in darkness whom we guess ;

' I found Him not in world or sun,
Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye ;
Nor through the questions men may try,
The petty cobwebs we have spun :

' If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep,
I heard a voice " believe no more "
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep ;

' A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd " I have felt." '

When we look widely enough we see that the consensus of man's faith has weathered many a storm. If great or small disasters could have disproved God and His goodness the race would have renounced its belief in the supernatural

If we substitute for 'the red fool-fury of the Seine' the tale of the ghastly ravages of Prussian militarism we shall find a wonderful appositeness to the present situation.

We cannot measure the possibly beneficent effects, both in this world and in the world unseen, of what seems, to our limited knowledge, a useless sorrow, an appalling catastrophe. Besides, there are things worse than death. And as the writer in *The Nation* already quoted says :

'We must not measure life by the infinitesimal fraction of it which enters into our personal, or class, or local experience, . . . (And) if the existence of suffering is consistent with the Divine world-government, the scale on which this suffering exists is a matter of detail. . . . If . . . we accept God as the essential postulate of life and mind, our belief must be of such a character as to include evil, moral as well as physical, not indeed as a permanent element in the universe—this were atheism—but as an actual factor in it, restrained from the full exercise of its power.'

And as a writer in *The Christian Commonwealth* says, with reference to the present conflict :

'God may not think this war nearly such a big thing as we do, or worry about it nearly so much as we do. . . . It is not that God is in any wise indifferent to the pain and world-wide weariness, . . . (but) it is not necessary that He should prove His omnipotence by stopping the war, for in His thought and for His purposes the suffering and agony of this present time may be integral to the whole creative movement.'

That the war, with all its horrors, is very far from being an unmixed evil is a matter of common observation, and I cannot do better than insert some short extracts from a very interesting and human book entitled *The Diary of a French Army Chaplain*, by the Abbé Félix Klein :

'Heroism,' he writes, 'shines forth everywhere ; never can humanity have displayed so much. . . . Before the sublime lesson of such a spectacle there are moments when one believes one understands why the War was permitted, the world, perchance, never having suffered such ills, but also having never risen to such a height of moral greatness.'

And again :

' The War . . . is above all a mixture, or rather an alternation, of horrors and splendours ; of frightful evil and surpassing good ; it is the monstrosity of wounds, mutilations, and agonies, it is the sublimity of voluntary self-sacrifice, patriotic devotion, duties accepted and full of hope. . . . Faith is re-kindling, piety is being born anew, morals are amending ; devotion purifying hearts, courage growing higher, voluntary self-sacrifice breeding heroes, resignation under suffering multiplying saints. God alone knows the good that has come out of all this suffering, the still greater good that will come ; it is why He has permitted it, and why He has not put an end to the unbridling of criminal, but free, wills to which it is due.'

And this recalls the magnificent words of the Book of Daniel :

' Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried ; but the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand ; but the wise shall understand.'

In conclusion, it may be well to notice two tendencies of popular thought which have emerged during this war. The first is the attempt to identify the present contest with Armageddon, and to find detailed prophecies of its progress and issue in the Apocalyptic books of both Testaments. The second is to assert that the whole crisis is sent as a punishment for national sins, of which detailed instances are sometimes given.

The former of these suggestions is advanced for the most part by those who favour a somewhat literal view of Biblical inspiration. Its impressiveness grows distinctly less in the face of critical and historical study of the books of the Bible, and especially of the Apocalyptic literature. This study shews that Holy Scripture was never meant to be used for such a purpose ; and Biblical references to the present world-war, if indeed they exist at all, can only be in a general and not in a particular sense. The most we can say is that there is foreshadowed an age-long contest between good and evil, with the ultimate triumph of good. Surely that is all that we could expect to find ; since the books of the Bible,

although they bear a message for every age, were written primarily with reference to their own times. It is enough for us to be assured that, in the last resort, right is might :

' The dawn is not distant,
Nor is the night starless ;
Love is eternal !
God is still God, and
His faith shall not fail us ;
Christ is eternal ! '

The latter suggestion, that the war is a direct punishment for sin, deserves more serious consideration because it is made by many who hold much more balanced critical and historical views. But if the war is to be regarded in this light we can only say that the alleged punishment falls, for the most part, on comparatively innocent people. The suggestion that the peasantry of Belgium are being punished for the Congo atrocities, with which they themselves had nothing to do, or that all England has been laid in mourning because of the desecration of Sunday or the falling-off in church attendance, seems to embody a view of God which is characteristic of the least worthy and comparatively undeveloped stages of Old Testament theology. Even in Germany the military governing classes, who have done most to make the war, are those which suffer its hardships the least. Further, our Lord Himself distinctly rebukes such a point of view in His utterance concerning the fall of the Tower of Siloam.

While it is true that innocent and guilty alike are involved in a common travail, it is not for us to attempt to dictate the details of God's methods of action. Even if people are being thus punished for their sins it is not for us to say so. God has so ordered the world as to make us punish ourselves. All sin eventually brings its inevitable and automatic punishment, either in this world or the next, upon individual offenders, however ill-balanced the rewards and punishments of this life may seem to our limited perception. Why, then, should people suffer twice over by the infliction of national punishment as well ?

God's punishments are always primarily remedial ; and it is a more fruitful point of view, and one more in accordance with the New Testament, to regard this unparalleled suffering not so much as a wrathful punishment for sin as the hopeful and redemptive birth-throes of a new and better age. As Robert Bridges sings :

' And God the Maker doth my heart grow bold
To praise for wintry works not understood,
Who all the worlds and ages doth behold,
Evil and good as one, and all as good.'

A. T. COLDMAN.

ART. VI.—THE EMPTY TOMB, THE RESURRECTION BODY AND THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

1. *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.* By KIRSOPP LAKE. 'Crown Theological Library,' Vol. XXI. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1907.)
2. *Essays on some Theological Questions of the Day.* By Members of the University of Cambridge. Edited by H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity. (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1905.)

My object in this article is to examine the objections brought against the account which is given by the New Testament writers of the Resurrection of our Lord on the ground of the difficulty that we find in accounting for the disappearance of His natural body from the tomb by the normal operation of the physical forces with which we are familiar, and on the ground of the closely related difficulties that we find in conceiving of the nature of the Resurrection body and of the conditions of life in an intermediate, presumably disembodied, state between death and resurrection.

I

It is well to state at the outset the point of view from which I approach the evidence. The main obstacle in the way of arriving at agreement, on what looks like a

simple matter of historical fact, is that investigators approach the evidence with different presuppositions and are not sufficiently explicit in stating what their own presuppositions are. This criticism does not apply to the writer with whose arguments I shall be mainly concerned. Mr. Kirsopp Lake in his essay on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is commendably outspoken as regards his own position. He frankly admits that for him it is impossible to believe that the Lord's mortal body actually disappeared. He is convinced that our Lord 'rose,' *i.e.* survived death and really manifested Himself to the Apostles and convinced them that He was still alive and capable of communion with them.

'But,' as he quotes from Dr. Rashdall,¹ 'the disappearance or absolute annihilation, the re-animation or the sudden transformation into something not quite material and yet not quite spiritual, of a really dead body, would involve the violation of the best ascertained laws of physics, chemistry, and physiology. Were the testimony fifty times stronger than it is, any hypothesis would be more possible than that.'

It also seems to him to imply a doctrine with regard to the nature of the Resurrection body and the intermediate state which he cannot accept. But the fundamental difficulty is that so forcibly stated by Dr. Rashdall. At the same time Mr. Kirsopp Lake is a student of history and literature, and knows that he must somehow give an account of the origin of the narratives which we find in the New Testament. These narratives are solid facts and cannot be simply ignored. So the problem before him is whether it is possible out of the material supplied by the documents to extract an account of the events which produced the faith of the Apostles in the Resurrection of their Master, without requiring us to believe that anyone really looked into the tomb and found it empty. He thinks he can.

I am not now concerned with the details of his conclusion. I only note that in order to arrive at it, he has to assume that every single one of our witnesses was mis-

¹ P. 269.

taken except the mysterious young man, whose innocent attempt to explain to the women that they were looking into the wrong tomb frightened them so much that they ran away and said nothing to anyone. He has also to postulate that every variation in all the writers after the first is due to misunderstanding of St. Mark's narrative, or to the unfettered operation of some dogmatic tendency. And he is forced to maintain that the only scientific method of dealing with the evidence is by 'analysis' rather than 'synthesis'—as if it were a problem in Textual Criticism and as if our task were simply to restore the words of a narrative embodying the experience of a single observer.

Such, clearly and explicitly stated, are Mr. Kirsopp Lake's presuppositions. I do not know how far he is prepared to regard them as 'working hypotheses' which must be modified if he comes across any facts which are really inconsistent with them. His language implies that he is so convinced of the truth of his physical or philosophical postulate that no amount of literary or historical evidence could induce him to reconsider it. This is, as I understand it, the characteristic attitude of all inquiry that calls itself 'critical' and claims an exclusive right to be regarded as historical.

My own position is in sharp contrast to this. I have no claim to speak as a man of science or as a philosopher. I do not know what 'matter' is. I have no conception of the relation that must exist between matter and spirit in my own body or in the universe. I distrust the dogmatism that refuses to admit the possibility of a new fact simply because it would involve the recasting of current theories in 'physics, chemistry and physiology.' I come therefore to the investigation of the question of the Empty Tomb with a really open mind. I am prepared to accept the fact, if it is supported by preponderating evidence in the departments of literary and historical criticism with which I am immediately concerned, *i.e.* if the hypothesis of its truth gives the most reasonable explanation of the origin of the accounts given by the witnesses with whom I have to deal.

I come also, I must freely confess, with a definite prepossession in favour of the Evangelists. I think that the position that they have held in the life of the Church for eighteen centuries justifies me in believing them to be right until they are proved to be wrong. I do not maintain that it is impossible that any one of them should be mistaken. But I do maintain that it is possible that fuller knowledge would enable us to harmonize them all. And I believe that I am more likely to attain to truth if I come to my authorities in a spirit of trustful humility, than if I assume that any difficulty I may find in understanding any element in their narratives must be attributed to their carelessness or stupidity rather than to my own ignorance.

So much by way of introduction. It may help to explain why I do not propose to discuss the various suggestions that have been put forward to account for the origin of the New Testament narratives on the hypothesis that it is impossible to accept them at what we may call their 'face value.' I desire to see precisely how far they are open to the objections that Professor Lake brings against them on the hypothesis that they are a faithful record of the experiences of the first generation of Christian believers, and of the judgments that they formed on the strength of these experiences.

II

I may begin my study by repeating what I wrote in an article on Miracles in the 'Cambridge Theological Essays.'¹

'If the narratives themselves are true, the physical conditions must have been unique, and we have no criterion by which to judge the accuracy of the descriptions. It is quite arbitrary therefore to rule out as belonging to some secondary source just those elements which offend our *a priori* canons of probability.

'According to the accounts as they have come down to us, the Risen Lord not only rendered Himself visible (in a shape which was ultimately, though not always at first, recognizable) and spoke in familiar tones, but also offered His Body to the test of touch, and still more strangely brake bread with His own

¹ P. 338.

hands and ate in the presence of the Apostles after entering the room with closed doors.

' It seems natural, if not inevitable, to regard the whole of the material side of these phenomena as a condescension to our limited powers of apprehension, and to the consequent necessity that the truth should be brought home to us by the concurrent use of all our faculties. We naturally, however wrongly, imagine that the sense of touch is less likely to be deceived than any other. Evidence is granted through it to assure us that the form taken by the life that triumphed over death, though not subject to the laws of matter as we understand them in this order, is yet solid and substantial (whatever the words may mean under the new conditions), the exact antithesis to the empty, shadowy existences with which popular imagination, whether Jewish or Gentile, had peopled the world beyond the grave.'

I am glad to find myself in harmony with Professor Lake on the points raised in this extract. He writes :

' The form in which an object appears is in any case the resultant of the natures of the object and of the percipient. Assume the possibility of an absolutely non-material object communicating its presence to a man, and the impression made on the latter must be an appearance conditioned by the terms of his own human nature and so far subjective. In this sense it is a truism to say that the appearance of Christ after the Resurrection was subjective, and the desire to do justice to this fact; combined with a necessity of asserting that the perception (in itself and apart from the form which the perception took) of the appearance was due to an objective presence, has led some theologians to coin the cumbersome expression subjective-objective appearance.

' It may be thought that this is merely a philosophical subtlety, but it is something more than this. It means that, if we once decide, whether on historical or doctrinal grounds, that the risen Christ was spiritual, not material, we must be consistent and recognize that when we speak of the disciples *seeing* or *hearing* the risen Christ we are using, as they did, the language of our ordinary perception of the material to express the immaterial.' ¹

This may seem, as Mr. Kirsopp Lake says, over-subtle to some minds. If so, I would ask them if they have ever

¹ K. Lake, *The Historical Narratives*, pp. 271-2.

faced the question of the nature of the clothes in which the Lord appeared on the several occasions? For there can be no doubt that the form that appeared was clothed.¹

There remains, of course, the fundamental problem of the Empty Tomb. What hypothesis can we frame not to explain but to describe the process which resulted in that phenomenon? Here again Mr. Kirsopp Lake can be most helpful. He analyzes with great care the argument of 1 Cor. xv and points out that St. Paul's conviction that 'flesh and blood' cannot inherit the kingdom is proof positive that he did not believe that the Body of the Risen Lord was of flesh and blood; and from a comparison of the passages, in which St. Paul describes the Resurrection bodies of Christians and the transformation of those who will be alive at 'the Parousia,' he concludes as follows²:

'The evidence points to his belief in a kind of transubstantiation of the body from flesh and blood into spirit, and in this sense he not merely held the doctrine of the resurrection of the *body* as distinguished from the resurrection of the *flesh*, but in so far as the flesh was changed into spirit, he may even be said to have held the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, if 'resurrection' be taken to include this process of change.'

And again³:

'The result, then, of an examination of the passages in which St. Paul speaks of the nature of the resurrection body of Christians points to the fact that he believed that at the resurrection of Jesus his body was changed from one of flesh and blood to one which was spiritual, incorruptible and immortal, in such a way that there was no trace left of the corruptible body of flesh and blood which had been laid in the grave.'

This is, I think, sound and illuminating exegesis, and the conception itself is as remarkable as it is definite. By what steps are we to suppose that St. Paul arrived at it? Unfortunately Professor Lake is quite certain that St. Paul's view is mistaken. So he goes on to point out an interesting,

¹ This question has been recently considered in a suggestive article in *C.Q.R.* for January 1916 by the Rev. Robert Vaughan.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

though not complete, parallel to this thought from what may be contemporary Jewish writing. His object is to suggest that the doctrine of resurrection, which St. Paul had been taught as a Jew, would have implied the disappearance of the crucified body from the tomb in the event of a real resurrection.

We may readily grant that, if St. Paul held such a doctrine, and it is possible that he did, it would have helped him, after he became convinced of the fact that the Lord was risen, to understand the Christian tradition, with which Professor Lake believes him to have been familiar,¹ that the women had found, or thought that they had found, the tomb empty on the third day. But surely it is strange that it does not occur to Professor Lake to state that the phenomena of the Empty Tomb, especially as St. John records them, would of themselves supply a complete foundation for the very remarkable form that the doctrine of the resurrection body takes in St. Paul. Indeed it fulfils exactly the conditions of 'the special fact,' implied but not stated in 1 Cor. xv, to which Professor Lake refers.² It would supply a basis for the doctrine of the resurrection body of Christians, and a date for the Resurrection of the Lord. And its absence from 1 Cor. xv may well be due to the fact that it would not compare in direct evidential value with the experiences of those who had seen and conversed with the Risen Lord.

There is a further difficulty in Mr. Kirsopp Lake's treatment of the question. Why, in view of his clear exposition of the spirituality of St. Paul's view of the Resurrection body, does he spend so much of his time in denouncing³ the doctrine of 'the resuscitation of the material body,' 'the resuscitation of the flesh and blood laid in the tomb,'⁴ 'a resuscitation of the flesh,'⁵ 'the resuscitation of that body of flesh and blood which is so often an hindrance, even though it be an education, on earth,'⁶ instead of considering exactly the relation between St. Paul's doctrine (which may surely be regarded as the accepted Church

¹ Pp. 196, 199.

² Pp. 24, 32.

³ Pp. 245, 265.

⁴ P. 249.

⁵ P. 253.

⁶ P. 244.

doctrine) of a spiritual resurrection body, and his own conviction of an 'unbroken survival of personal life'? There is surely no necessary incompatibility between them.

It will be a real help towards appreciating the evidence to go into this point more fully. Mr. Kirsopp Lake's difficulty, apart from his fundamental contention of the impossibility of any transubstantiation or absorption of the body placed in the grave, is really based on the difficulty of the conception of an 'Intermediate State.' And the difficulty, both in itself and in the current views on the subject (as expressed for instance in our popular hymns), is no doubt considerable. Our only chance of getting light on it depends on the possibility that the Bible contains a revelation on the subject. We have, as far as I can see, no independent illumination either from philosophical speculation or from ecclesiastical tradition on which we can rely.

Professor Lake's position depends upon the following assumptions: (1) that our Lord's Resurrection was in no sense *unique*¹; (2) that we can assume that St. Paul's argument for the resurrection of Christians from the resurrection of Christ can be safely inverted in every particular²; and (3) that we can use our opinions as to the resurrection of mankind in order to explain the narrative of the resurrection of Christ.

Now as I have already indicated I do not attach any high value to our *a priori* speculations and 'opinions as to the resurrection of mankind.' My one hope is that the narrative of the Resurrection of Christ may enable us to check and correct our guesses on the subject. I anticipate nothing but confusion from reversing the process. It seems to me admirably calculated to shut out any light that Revelation may have in store for us, because the points at which new light can help us must be just the points where our guesses are at variance with the facts. I admit freely that St. Paul's whole argument in 1 Corinthians is based on the conviction that the Resurrection of Christ was not an isolated, independent phenomenon, 'a violation or

¹ P. 277.

P. 20.

suspension of the laws of nature,'—a 'miracle' in the popular acceptance of the term. It is either the manifestation of a force in the Universe, which, because it has been seen in operation in one instance, may be trusted to act universally, or it is nought. 'If there is no such thing as resurrection,' 'if dead men do not rise,' then the Apostolic preaching is a lie and the faith of Christians a delusion. But it does not follow from this that there is nothing unique about the Resurrection of Christ, and that it is in every detail identical with the resurrection of all men everywhere. St. Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians is enough as it stands to negative this assumption. There is first and most obviously the difference in time to which he calls express attention. No doubt he had to be ready to meet the retort: 'Other graves are not empty after three days.' And he does so by explaining that the working of the Resurrection power, which had been manifested in the raising of Christ as the first-fruits, was not to be seen in operation again until 'the Appearing,' and then only in the case of Christians. It would not be manifested universally until the Messianic Kingdom was perfected and every enemy, expressly including death, had been brought into subjection to the Son, and in the Son to the Father.

As a direct consequence of this difference in time, if for no other reason, the forces of corruption would work on the mortal bodies of all the rest of the dead in a way in which they could not work on the Body of Christ.

There is besides the case of those who would be alive 'at the Appearing.' St. Paul's conviction, that 'flesh and blood' cannot inherit the Kingdom, made it necessary for him to consider them separately. The change has in their case to be wrought without the casting off of the mortal body, without 'becoming unclothed' as St. Paul calls it in 2 Cor. v 4. Their experience therefore presents features differentiating it at once from our Lord's Resurrection and from that of the rest of mankind. So in their case,¹ as no doubt St. Paul believed had happened in the

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. xv 51.

case of Christ, 'that which is mortal must be swallowed up by life.' 'The body of their humiliation must be instantaneously transformed after the likeness of the body of His glory' (Phil. iii 21). There is no force therefore in the argument that we must believe that Christ's Body mouldered in the grave because the bodies of Christians do. Indeed it is remarkable that both St. Peter and St. Paul in their speeches in Acts call special attention to the uniqueness of Christ's experience in this particular respect. They rest no small part of their argument on the fact that Christ had, while David had not, escaped 'corruption.'

III

The argument from the incompatibility between our belief in the continuity of personal existence and any doctrine of an intermediate state is put forward by Mr. Kirsopp Lake with great confidence. It owes such weight as it possesses entirely to the dimness of our vision of the conditions of life 'beyond the veil.' Logically it would be enough to answer that the conception of an 'intermediate state' postulates the continuity of personal existence, and is only concerned with the conditions of that existence. But the real objection lies deeper, in the difficulty of conceiving the conditions of existence in anything that can be properly regarded as a disembodied state. We should like to believe that all souls when they pass out of this world enter straight into the fulness of eternal life, and have always done so from the beginning. That however is certainly not the teaching of the Bible. We cannot of course press the language of Psalms like xlix, lxxxviii, or even xvi, nor again the imagery of the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Yet an intermediate state is implied, as Professor Lake sees, not only in the doctrine of the descent into Hades, but also in the dating of the Resurrection on the third day. It is implied in 1 Cor. xv and 2 Cor. v, and is not really excluded by St. Paul's longing in Phil. i 23 to depart and be with Christ. For there is no reason to suppose that souls 'in the intermediate state'

are shut out from communion with Christ.¹ It is implied also in various passages in the Revelation of St. John, especially in vi 9-11 and xx 4-6.

The fact seems to be that 'Resurrection,' like 'Death' and 'Life,' is a term of manifold significance, and admits of many stages and degrees. As indeed our Lord Himself, I believe, taught His disciples when He said 'In My Father's House are many kinds of abiding places.' And there is nothing inherently incredible in the supposition that there may be as many stages in the evolution of the full and perfectly equipped spiritual body as there have been in the evolution of our material bodies. It is clear that souls pass within the veil in very different stages of development, and consequently into very different conditions, and with very different capacities for entering into Life.

The questions of practical importance for us are two, and both of them have a bearing on Mr. Kirsopp Lake's difficulty. (1) Where do we stand with regard to the 'Appearing' which St. Paul expected in his own generation? And (2) to what extent are we here and now contributing to the evolution of our spiritual bodies, building up 'the habitation, the building from God, made without hands, eternal in the heavens,' which we are to inhabit hereafter?

With regard to the first point I should like to call attention to the hints contained in the Apocalypse. Clearly that book, which opens with the vision of Him who has the Keys of Death and the Grave, is meant to throw direct light on the problem. Let me refer briefly to four passages:

(1) vi 6-10, the vision of 'the souls' under the altar, the martyred prophets of the Old Covenant, who were to wait till the complement of the martyrs of the New had come in. For as Hebr. xi 40 says, 'they apart from us' cannot 'be made perfect.' These are clothed in white raiment and are, I imagine, merged in those who keep coming out of the great tribulation, also arrayed in white robes in vii 13 ff., to be shepherded by the Lamb.

¹ Cf. 1 Thess. v 10, and St. Luke xxiii 43.

(2) Look next at xiv 13. 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from this time forth. Yea, saith the Spirit, may they rest from their toiling, for their works follow with them.' This rest is not inactivity. Their powers trained by their earthly activities are from henceforth to find full scope without friction.

(3) When we pass on to xix 14, we are given a vision of the armies that are in heaven riding on white horses, clothed in the vesture of the Bride of the Lamb, going out to fight under their Captain Christ.

(4) Then in xx 4 we come back once more to the Christian martyrs, who have been faithful in their witness, and who live and reign with Christ during the mystic Millennium of the chaining of Satan. This we are told is 'the first Resurrection.'

Now the sequence of events implied seems to me remarkably parallel in general outline to the scheme laid down by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. And I am prepared to take as my working hypothesis the view that we are living now in this 'Millennium': that we are or may be, in proportion to our faith, here and now citizens of the New Jerusalem, and that, again in proportion to our faith, it is true for us that 'there is no more death'; that in fact our Lord's promises are strictly true: 'Whosoever loseth his life for my sake finds it,' not after an indefinite period, but immediately: 'If a man keep my word, he shall never see death' (St. John viii 51): 'He that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die' (St. John xi 26). Such believers have part in the first Resurrection. What furtherfulness of life may lie before them at the second Resurrection when the whole race reaches its consummation and each member of it is uplifted by the energy of the whole, who can say? The consequence of the ultimate conversion of Israel in Rom. xi 15 is 'Life from the Dead.' Meanwhile they are in life not in death, and their life is not 'disembodied.' The souls are clothed, not naked. For them Christ has come again.

IV

So much for the first point. Now for the second. What conception can we form of the nature of our spiritual bodies? To what extent are we here and now contributing to their evolution? I am not referring to the nature of the stuff of which they are composed, 'heavenly' as contrasted with earthly material. What earthly matter is, it is a truism to say that no one knows. The speculations of Physicists are wonderfully interesting even to the outsider, but clearly they require very special training even dimly to apprehend. And how can we hope to form any theory of heavenly matter? ¹

I want to fix attention on that which is nearer to everyone than matter, more comprehensible, and ultimately more important, I mean 'Spirit.' For we are 'Spirit.' We are only clothed in 'Matter.' And if it be true, in this life of our material body;

' That of the soul the body form doth take,
For soul is form and doth the body make,'

still more must it be true that in the world to come 'spirit is form,' and the spiritual body must be the perfect expression of the spirit and absolutely under its control.

As I read St. Paul, this is a point to which he is constantly calling our attention. I find it impossible to believe that, when he writes in 1 Cor. xv 42 'There is a sowing in corruption, there is a rising in incorruption, there is a sowing in dishonour, there is a rising in glory, there is a sowing in weakness, there is a rising in power,' St. Paul is thinking of the dead body as a seed out of which the new body is to sprout, after it has been put into the ground, as most people seem to think. He must mean 'this life in corruptible flesh in the body of our humiliation is the sowing time, the harvest will come under the transformed

¹ A working hypothesis for that side of our thinking from a physicist's point of view is given in Stewart and Tait's *Unseen Universe*.

conditions of the body of our glory.' Certainly according to the best text he calls us expressly to begin at once to wear (xv 49) 'the image of the heavenly,' an expression that corresponds closely to his injunction to us in Col. iii 5 'to mortify'—to do to death—'our members that are upon earth,' the limbs of the old Adam in us, 'fornication, uncleanness' and the rest, 'stripping off the old man with his ways of action, and clothing ourselves with the new after the image of Him that created Him,' further defined as 'compassion, kindness, humility, meekness,' and so forth. In other words, personal character is the most practical form under which we can conceive of our spiritual body.¹

We are put into this world to develop 'character.' Our characters are moulded by our habits, what psychologists call, I believe, 'organized reactions,' in the formation of which our physical constitution plays an important part. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body is primarily an assurance of the preservation of personal identity through death, by the preservation of all the results of our life here, whether in memory or habit, that are imprinted on our bodies, and are somehow stored up in, or intimately linked with, the grey matter in our brain. We must all be made manifest before the judgement seat of Christ, that each may receive the things done through the body in respect of his practices whether good or bad (2 Cor. v 10).

How this identity is preserved, we can only say that we do not know. It would be simple if we might conceive of 'this muddy vesture of decay' simply as a sheath or chrysalis within which the perfect form is being moulded, and which has nothing to do but to drop off when its work is done and return to the earth from which it was taken. If this be so, we should have to conceive of the disappearance of the material particles of our Lord's dead body as, in St. Paul's language, the swallowing up of that which was mortal by life. The feature is in any case peculiar to Him : a phenomenon which was both appropriate in itself

¹ See *Letters of a Modern Mystic*.

in the deliverance of the body of the Holy One from corruption, and was, so far as we can judge, absolutely necessary if men were to believe in the reality of His Resurrection and the completeness of His triumph over death.

And we may conceive of the condition of the rest of the dead, 'who lived not' and have no part in the first Resurrection, not as 'disembodied,' but as in various stages of imperfect, arrested or perverted, spiritual development, without as yet the organs by which they can enter into relation with the life that is life indeed. Such a view would, I think, be in harmony with such indications as the New Testament gives us. There does not seem to be anything in the New Testament to justify the view, which has no doubt coloured all our Christian thinking for centuries, that 'soul and body meet again' at the Resurrection. The subject is clearly one on which dogmatic utterance is out of place. I shall have achieved my immediate purpose if I have shewn that it is possible to frame a reasonably consistent picture of the teaching of St. Paul and of the Revelation of St. John with regard to the Resurrection Body and the Intermediate State; and that this teaching at once throws light on and receives light from the phenomenon of the Empty Tomb, which is presupposed in all the accounts of the Resurrection of our Lord.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

ART. VII.—THE RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH CHURCHES.

1. *The Russian Church : Lectures on its History, Constitution, Doctrine and Ceremonial.* Preface by the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON. (London : Published for the Anglican and Eastern Association, by S.P.C.K. 1915.)
2. *Intercommunion with the Eastern Orthodox Church ; the Schism between East and West and the Possible Healing.* By the Rev. R. W. BURNIE. (London : Published for the Anglican and Eastern Association, by S.P.C.K. 1915.)

THESE two books, both published by the Anglican and Eastern Association, are concerned with the characteristics of the Eastern, and especially the Russian Church, and the relation of the Church of England towards it. They deal with a subject which is naturally much before our minds at the present time, and demand therefore a somewhat full consideration.

The book on the Russian Church consists of four lectures: the first, on its history, by the Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D.; the second, on its constitution, by the Rev. R. W. Burnie; the third, on its doctrine, by W. J. Birkbeck, M.A.; and the fourth, on its ceremonial, by the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, M.A. Of these we naturally turn to the lecture on Doctrine, by Mr. Birkbeck. He is well known as having devoted himself to the study of the Russian Church for many years, and he can speak with an authority and weight which we cannot expect from those whose acquaintance with that Church is more superficial, and who have no knowledge of the Russian language.

His lecture gives us the teaching of the Russian Church on 'the doctrine of the Church,' as expounded by the national school of theology during the Nineteenth century. It is of great importance both in relation to the Russian Church and as a positive exposition of an attractive theory of the nature of the Church. The following quotation will shew the point of view:

'The Russian theologians of the middle of the last century, especially those of the Slavophile school, devoted much of their labours to the study of the nature of the Church. According to their theology, the Church is not merely an institution, differing only from other institutions, such as the State, in being a spiritual instead of a secular institution; it is something much more than this. It is a living organism of faith and love, or, as one of them puts it, "faith and love as an organism," the Body of which Christ is the Head, and of which all those who have been, are, or shall be brought into it are the members, fulfilling itself indeed in time, but nevertheless constituting not an imaginary or allegorical, but a true and substantial unity. It is to the whole Body, and not to the hierarchy apart from the

rest of the Body, that the custody of the faith is committed ; even in the case of a General Council, it is not the number or the dignity of the prelates who take part in it which establishes its oecumenical authority, it is only when the Church as a whole accepts its decisions as the expression of her own belief that they become binding upon the whole Church.'

The definition then of the Church is ' a living organism of faith and love.' Now that, we suppose, means this : that what really binds together God's people, the Holy Catholic Church, is the fact that they are united in a common faith and common brotherly love. Of course in both cases there is an element of what is ideal. The faith of individuals is imperfect, and our love to our brother is not always exhibited in quite as Christian a manner as is desirable. But that does not take away from the reality that underlies it. A body of Christians, however imperfect, living amongst those who are not Christians, are obviously definitely bound together by a certain spiritual solidarity. They cannot escape it, however imperfectly they may exhibit it ; and the essential point of this definition is that a spiritual solidarity constitutes the *esse* of the Church, and not any particular form of constitution or polity. It is a religious society, and therefore its basis is religious. Naturally, like every society, it requires its constitution and its order. It has created these as the expression of its religious purpose. But the constitution and ministry of the Church depend upon its religious character, not its religious character on its constitution.

Mr. Birkbeck works out the meaning of this in various directions. The Bishops are the instruments of the Church.

' Just as the Bishops exist in order to instruct their diocese in the faith, so when controversies arise, they are the natural instruments to formulate the doctrine of the Church in council. The point is, that the gift of infallibility is not only not contained in, but that it is strictly separated from, hierarchical functions. Not only no individual Bishop, however illustrious his See, but no council of Bishops, however important and numerous attended, can put forward any *a priori* claim to define the faith *ex sese, non autem ex consensu ecclesiae* ; the

gift of infallibility (which is the same thing as faith) is bestowed not upon individuals, nor upon a class of individuals, but upon the totality of the ecclesiastical body, and is considered as a corollary of the moral principle of mutual love.'

And just in the same way as the Bishops are instruments of the Church, so their authority is derived from the fact that it comes from the Church.

'So far as the Bishops were concerned, the Saviour had said to His Apostles "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," and inasmuch as "without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better," the sacramental gift of episcopal consecration must come from a higher authority. This the Eastern Church provides for in the three or more Bishops, or at least two, whom she requires for the consecration of a Bishop. They act not in their individual capacities, but as a council of Bishops acknowledged by the whole Church as so acting on her behalf, exactly in the same way as an Oecumenical Council acts in the matter of defining the doctrine of the Church.'

There are further deductions Mr. Birkbeck makes from this in explaining the meaning of the Eastern doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Prayers for the dead and the invocation of saints alike are the natural expression of the Church as a union of the saints in love for one another and prayer for one another.

'We pray,' writes Khomiakoff, 'in the spirit of love, knowing that no one will be saved otherwise than by the prayer of all the Church, in which Christ lives, knowing and trusting that so long as the end of time has not come, all the members of the Church, both living and departed, are being perfected incessantly by mutual prayer.'

'The Church prays for all, and we pray together for all; but our prayer must be true, and a true expression of love, and not a mere form of words. Not being able to love all men, we pray for those whom we love, and our prayer is not hypocritical; but we pray God, that we may be able to love all, and pray for all without hypocrisy. Mutual prayer is the blood of the Church, and the glorification of God her breath.'

We need not multiply further quotations. We think that the extracts that have been given are sufficient to

illustrate both the point of view from which these Eastern theologians approach the question of the Church, and the reality of the spiritual importance of what they have to teach us. The question may be asked—and it is in fact asked by Mr. Birkbeck : How far can this school of writers be held to be really representative of the Eastern Church ? No doubt there are several points of view. When theology first began to be built up in the East, it was to a certain extent under Roman influence. At a later time it came under Lutheran influence, and both these have affected its development. So there are documents of authority in the Eastern Church which represent a different point of view. There are in particular the Decrees of the Synod of Bethlehem or Jerusalem, on which Mr. Burnie draws somewhat largely, and there is the Orthodox Confession of Faith issued under the auspices of Peter Mogila, to which reference is made. It is important therefore to recognize that there are different schools of theology in the Eastern Church as well as in our own, and different aspects from which their theology is looked upon. But it is certainly significant that the presentation just given of the doctrine of the Church was put forward by the Eastern Patriarchates in the year 1848 in reply to the encyclical of Pius IX.

The exact influence and proportion of this school of theology in the Eastern Church can of course only be determined by those who, like Mr. Birkbeck, have an intimate acquaintance with the general trend of Russian theology. But of one thing we may be assured—that, whether this be the proper teaching of the Eastern Church or not, it is certainly most representative of the Biblical theory of the Church. St. Paul, for example, is quite clear that the Christian society should become a body—that is to say, an organized and corporate and visible society ; but he bases its union not on any principle of organization, but on its union in the Spirit, on its love and faith and hope, just as these theologians do. And we are not able to appreciate the history of the organic growth of the Church unless we realize that it was not founded by our Lord as an organized

body, but as an organism, and that through the influence of His Spirit it has created for itself the organization in which it exhibits itself, and has modified that organization from time to time to suit different circumstances. Our Lord, as we often remind ourselves, gave us not rules but principles—the principle of ministry, the principle of sacraments; and the Church has built itself up out of these principles.

Mr. Birkbeck gives us, side by side with these constructive theories, extracts from Russian theologians regarding the Protestant or Roman Catholic Churches. We do not purpose to quote them; it is sufficient to emphasize that they represent what has been a recognized Orthodox point of view. They assume the orthodoxy and infallibility of their own Church, and condemn all others. They think that the rest of Christendom has broken away from themselves, and they often write as if they refused the name of Church to any other but themselves. In particular he quotes various caustic comments of Khomiakoff about Protestantism which appear to us neither wise nor true. It is sufficient to note these and to emphasize the fact that no serious *rapprochement* can take place between the Church of England and the Russian Church unless the Russian Church is prepared to recognize that there may be other equally true representations of the Christian ideal, and that it cannot confine the name of Church to its own body.

But there are certain further deductions that we wish to draw from this exposition of the meaning of the Church. In the first place it must be recognized that it represents very much what Western Protestantism strove to express in opposition to the mediaeval theories of the Roman Church. And it represents too what lies at the basis at the present day of all the opposition, sometimes perhaps unreasonable, to questions concerning the importance of the ministry. What people alike feel is that the basis of the Church must lie in its spiritual functions, and not in its ministry—that they are of the first importance, the ministry of secondary importance; and if Russians and

those who admire the Russians would recognize that this is what so many theologians are aiming at, and would approach them in a somewhat different spirit, it would make reunion between the different Christian bodies very much easier.

And then there is a further point. If this is the real nature of the Church, it would become obvious that the rigid theories which sometimes have prevailed, most markedly in the Roman Church and in those who draw their inspiration from it, about all questions of Church order, are really inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Church. An illustration might be drawn from the Eastern practice itself. A traditional practice in the East, growing up no doubt from the intensity of ecclesiastical feeling, was to rebaptize all 'converts' from the Western Church, whether Roman or Protestant or Anglican. There you have the rigid theory. The Russian Church has given up that practice, and it has been much modified even in the older patriarchates. Now here we have a contrast between the rigid and the non-rigid interpretation of principles. If the Church is based upon certain theories of order, then the practice might be right. If it is based on the union of faith and love, then the practice must surely be wrong, because the only deduction that we can come to from such a principle is this, that wherever there is true faith in Christ and a true desire for brotherly love with our fellow-Christians, there the Church must exist. The union must be imperfect, compared with the union of those who are bound together in a true union, but there is a real spiritual solidarity amongst all Christians who devoutly believe in Christ. If those who are willing to accept the Russian point of view will make these further deductions, it does not mean that old ecclesiastical controversy can be settled offhand, nor does it mean that questions of Church order are indifferent, but it means that both sides alike will approach them in a spirit of Christianity and not in a spirit of contention.

Mr. Birkbeck's contribution to these volumes seems to us valuable, and we recommend everyone to study

it carefully, and also, if they are able to, a volume edited by himself for the Eastern Church Association, on *England and the Russian Church*, where they will find some of the views he expounds in this lecture put forth at greater length.

The remaining contributions to this volume do not appear so valuable. In some respects they are absolutely erroneous, and though written by persons who have some acquaintance either with the externals of the Russian Church or its history, they do not speak with any authority. Dr. Dearmer gives a survey of the history of the Russian Church, and devotes a considerable amount of attention to its somewhat anomalous constitutional position. It is well known that Peter the Great suppressed the Moscow patriarchate and substituted a Commission, which goes by the name of the Holy Synod. It sits under the presidency of a layman, and is entirely under the authority of the Emperor. Now no doubt that represents Erastianism in rather an obtrusive form, and very severe things have sometimes been said about the relation of the Emperor to the Church. The arrangement is not a perfect one, and is quite capable of criticism; but there is another side of the question which is overlooked. The writers in this volume have considered the Russian Church far too much from a merely ecclesiastical point of view. They have done nothing to make their readers realize the immense importance of the Russian Church as a great national institution. It is probably as true to say that the Russian Church has created Russia as that the English Church created England—more so, indeed. But wherever the Church appears as a national society, co-extensive with the nation and capable of being very powerful, absolute independence is impossible if the community is to be well governed. The secular State must be supreme. It cannot allow the existence of another society as powerful. More than that, it would not be good for the society. Ecclesiastics are no more than others to be trusted if they have too much power. Always therefore it will be found, where the Church is a real power co-extensive

with the nation, that the secular State must exercise some authority over it. It undoubtedly does so in this country. In various Roman Catholic countries there is generally some sort of *Concordat*, or other arrangement by which the secular authority has a voice ; while even the Austrian Emperor had a veto on the appointment of the Pope. Now none of these arrangements may be quite ideal ; but it is far better to recognize the fact that there must be some such restraint, to allow other Churches to work things out in their own way, and not to be unwisely critical of them, or foolishly condemnatory of our own position. To make the Church a department of the State will ruin its spiritual character ; but that does not justify a position of complete independence.

Mr. Fynes-Clinton's account of the ceremonial of the Russian Church is written by one who obviously feels, perhaps more than most Englishmen, the influence of that ceremonial, and who has recognized the deep religious instincts of the Russian people. But his attitude with regard to the adoration of the Sacrament in the Eastern Church seems to be open to criticism alike from the point of view of the English tradition and the Eastern Church. This is how he writes :

‘ Another point may here be considered—the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. This is perpetually reserved in every Church in a Tabernacle, on the High Altar as a rule, for the Communion of the Sick and for the Mass of the Pre-Sanctified. But the idea of privately visiting the Holy Sacrament of our Blessed Lord's Presence is hardly known amongst the Orthodox.’

Then he goes on :

‘ The devotion has not been developed as in the West, and there the Church has not yet brought out of her treasure this new thing for the spiritual comfort of her suppliants. We may account for this lack of development by remembering that the East has not suffered as we in the West by heresies about the Real Presence, which have stimulated the devotion by reaction. *Also the outward form in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, not being a beautiful white wafer, but intinct crumbs,*

and also the fact that it is kept behind the screen and the closed doors and curtain, have militated against the growth of the full realisation of all that the acknowledged fact of the Sacred Presence involves.'

Then he goes on to suggest that 'there may be noticed distinct signs during the last fifteen years of an increase of outward reverence' to the Sacrament.

With this passage we may compare one of Mr. Burnie's :

'Some of us, who have accepted the fully developed practice as the West, in regard to devotion to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, are made anxious sometimes by Eastern custom as concerning the Presence of Our Lord under the sacramental veils outside the Divine Liturgy. We know that the Orthodox accept the full truth of the Real Presence and that certainly they of the East reject the Lutheran figment of a Presence in the Liturgy only, withdrawn after its completion. When they take the Blessed Sacrament to the sick, they adore. Yet, perhaps, we are shocked to see a Greek "taking no notice" when he passes the Blessed Sacrament reserved in the Church. *We cannot understand either how the Sacrament can remain under the species of wine when that species has surely ceased to exist, to be in any sense wine at all because of its having been dried up and heated by elaborate processes.'*

These passages ought, we think, to be condemned both as disloyal to the Church of England and impertinent to the Church of Russia. It is clear that Mr. Fynes-Clinton and Mr. Burnie have adopted practices which are at variance with the teaching of the Church of England. Their language about the Sacraments is materialistic. The words italicized in both passages are without understanding. The patronizing tone adopted towards the Russian custom is most offensive, and Mr. Fynes-Clinton's statement that any change has taken place in the Russian practice or is likely to do so is misinformed.

The book in which Mr. Fynes-Clinton's words appear is published with a Preface by the Bishop of London. We do not exactly know what that means, but it must imply that he generally approves of the book. We cannot help thinking it unfortunate alike from the Russian and English point of view that he should have in any way expressed

his approval of a work containing passages such as we have quoted. It will cause great offence in England and in Russia. We may rightly demand of a book intended to foster the relationship between the English and the Russian Churches that it should not receive episcopal sanction in any form unless it can be considered representative of the Church of England as a whole and should be written with due regard to English Church Order and with loyalty to its teaching.

There are and must be many points in which differences will exist between ourselves and the Russian Church. It is surely unnecessary to multiply them. It is therefore perhaps as well to state explicitly that it is not the custom nor is it lawful in the Church of England to venerate the Reserved Sacrament, and that we do not condemn the Russian Church for failing to do so. It is not probable that they, any more than we do, trouble themselves now on the question of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist ; but it may be definitely stated that the normal use in the Church of England is to consecrate bread 'such as is usual to be eaten,' *i.e.* leavened bread, and that the use of wafers or unleavened bread is confined to churches of a particular school.

It is important at the present time, if there is to be increased intercourse between the Russian Church and the English Church, and if the two Churches are to learn from one another, as we believe they well may, that those who represent the English Church in their dealings with the Russian Church should be able to speak with greater authority and give a truer idea of what the English Church is than some of the writers in this book. In the present number of the CHURCH QUARTERLY Dr. Frere's *English Church Ways* is noticed, and it is pointed out how loyal to the High Church view of the Church of England that book is ; and a desire is expressed that an account of the Church of England from a loyal Evangelical point of view should be written which might be equally fair in its representation. But it is important to emphasize that the Church of England at the present time is not what certain sections

of it represent it to be—neither in its tradition, nor in its belief, nor in its work. Sometimes when Oriental prelates come over to this country they are entertained in some ‘Ritualistic’ church with elaborate services which are thought to be such as will please them, and very likely they remain during the whole of their visit only in contact with persons of a certain way of thinking. Of the rest of the Church of England they hear certain criticisms, but nothing more. They do not realize how small a place this party fills in the life of the Church as a whole, how different is the worship in parish after parish throughout the land. There is, many of us hold, nothing to be ashamed of in the true tradition of the Church of England. It is different indeed from the Russian, but it represents, as we believe, a true branch of the Catholic Church, and there are defects in the Eastern aspects of Christianity which the West can correct. What should be emphasized to the Russian Church is that they must learn what the Church of England is, not in this or that particular church, but throughout the whole of the country and in all its different aspects. Moreover, it is of great importance that those who desire to bring the English Church and the Russian Church nearer together should not be too anxious to use the Russian Church simply as a means for strengthening their own particular party. If they do so, they will only succeed in making the great body of English Churchmen refuse to learn what it may learn from the Russian Church.

In particular we shall emphasize certain special points. The Church of England will refuse to recognize that illiberality in religion is something for it to aim at. Mr. Burnie, for example, writes as follows :

‘ Serious difficulties do exist in other directions from Anglican episcopal action.

‘ The recognition of the schismatic and heretical Copts in Egypt (who lie under the anathema of an Oecumenical Council emphatically “ received in England ”) in much the same sort of semi-official way in which we recognize the Orthodox themselves is certainly a great obstacle to intercommunion. The East does not understand liberalism in religion.’

Let us say at once that the English Church has no intention whatever of adopting towards a body like the Coptic Church an illiberal attitude, even if it were to give pleasure to the Russian Church. We know quite well that the Copts were separated from the Eastern Church, partly on political grounds, partly perhaps on heretical grounds, and we do not desire too speedy reunion with them any more than with the Russian Church ; but we feel that in every direction it is our duty and our privilege to work to the best of our ability to bring together the divided fragments of the Church of Christ, and we cannot alter our attitude to please either the Russian Church or their illiberal Anglican supporters.

And equally must it be recognized that we have a work to do at home. It is our first duty in the cause of Christian reunion to bring together, if we can, all the scattered and divided fragments of Christ's Church in these islands, and amongst English-speaking Christians. To do that means that we are prepared to approach them on the same basis and from the same point of view as we approach the Orthodox Eastern Church ; to recognize that there is a unity of faith and love between us ; to recognize that that fundamental fact is more important than differences on ecclesiastical matters. We do not like the spirit of a statement such as that of Mr. Burnie :

'We need hardly insist that any confederation with Protestants rejecting the Apostolic Succession and Sacramental Grace would be fatal to intercommunion with the Orthodox.

'We must, however, urge that any apparent leaning to such a confederation on the part of Anglican Bishops raises at once yet another stumbling-block in the way of such intercommunion.'

And then there is a third direction in which particularly our work lies. Some of the writers of these volumes speak, apparently with approval, of the objection of the Eastern Church to rationalism. Now of course if that means the technical rationalism which has passed away, which attempted to make all religion conform with certain narrow

rules of reason, there are few people who would differ. But if, as is suggested, it means that we are to give up the use of reason and criticism in religious matters, and cut ourselves off from many modern movements of thought, there again it is impossible, and would not be right, for us to change our tradition. Up till now, so far as an outsider can judge, the Eastern Church has failed, and failed completely, in harmonizing or influencing the intellectual movements of its own people. The breach between the non-believer and the believer is greater in Russia than elsewhere. In the Balkan States the disregard for the teaching of religion has become very strong, owing to intellectual influences. We know that it is the duty of every Church to study, perhaps to assimilate, the movements of its time. The strength of the Church of England has lain in its combination of a reverent criticism with a recognition of the strength of inherited Christianity, and it is only in an atmosphere of freedom that such work can be done. That is part of our work. It is because we are trying to do that work that we may be helpful in the future to the Russian Church, when it is faced, as it must be, with the tremendous problems which modern thought will present to it, and therefore we cannot, in this direction as in any other, be untrue to our tradition.

In conclusion, it may be useful to give a few words from an interesting article in *The Times* which appeared by Mr. E. A. Egoroff, foreign editor of the *Novoe Vremya*, 'A Plea for Mutual Toleration: the Individuality of Nations.'

'Unfortunately,' he writes, 'there are people, and even political parties, that would like to make use of foreign relations to promote their internal partisan objects. In Russia there are people who went about before the war arguing that the world's peace could easily be assured if England would only adopt National Service. There are also opponents of this idea. Not long ago one of my friends, who belongs to the Constitutional Democratic Party, declared that the maintenance of National Service in Great Britain after the war would be senseless as being a negation of the results and objects of the war. Suppose for

a moment that we Russians were to interfere in the dispute which is still going on about this matter in England. I have no doubt that we should meet with a cool reception.

‘Let the positions be reversed. I am a warm partisan of representative government and of the extension of its scope and power. Similar views are held by my newspaper, the *Novoe Vremya*. But I will say quite frankly that any hint on the part of my English friends of interference in this question of our domestic concern would meet with a vigorous response. In external matters I am prepared to go with you to the furthest limits; in home policy I expect the fullest freedom. I wish to stand on my own feet, even if they be ill-shod. Moreover, I would say that my English friends could not render me any help in this domain. Remember the visit of the deputation from the first Duma to London. It was undertaken (by some if not by all) with a covert hope that the appearance of the Russian representatives in Westminster would endow our Parliament with a new and mysterious vigour. Nothing of the sort happened. The visit did not save the Duma from being dissolved, nor did it prevent the sad trial of the Viborg manifestants. It would be unfortunate indeed if these lessons of the past were to be forgotten.

‘Let us be friends and allies. But let each of us remain himself, if we wish to develop our friendship and alliance in the future.’

These words are spoken, of course, on the political side. Let us say the same thing about ecclesiastical matters. Let us be friends, allies, if possible united; but let each of us remain himself. Let the Russian Church learn from England, as from all other nations, working out its own life. Let the English Church learn from the Russian Church, as from all other religious bodies, working out its own salvation. Do not let us be too anxious to interfere with one another or to criticize one another, and do not let us make use of one another in our own internal controversies.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

ART. VIII.—LIFE AT CLUNY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1. *Vetus Disciplina Monastica.* Edidit MARQUARD HERRGOTT. (Paris. 1726.)
2. *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny.* Ed. BERNARD ET BRUEL. 'Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France.' (Paris. 1876-1903.)
3. *Millénaire de Cluny.* 'Académie de Macon.' (Macon: Protat Frères. 1910.)

And other Works.

THE little town of Cluny is charmingly situated on the River Grosne in a wide valley among the high limestone hills known as the Montagnes du Maconnais et du Charolais, which are outliers of the northern chain of the Cevennes. The lower slopes of these wooded hills are covered with vineyards, and the fields and pastures of the valley are very fertile. Cluny is about twelve miles north-west of Macon, a town on the wide and navigable River Saône which flows into the Rhone at Lyons. Macon is on the Voie Agrippa, the great Roman road which led from Boulogne through Avallon and Autun to Lyons, and was followed by pilgrims from England and the north of France to Italy. Another road, which was often chosen to shorten the distance, branched off at Autun and passed over the mountains within a few miles of Cluny through Sainte-Cecile, Clermain, Brandon, Ouroux, Avenas to Belleville, where it joined the main road between Macon and Lyons.¹ Cluny was in the Duchy of Burgundy which has been called the cross-roads of Europe, since it lay between Northern and Southern France, and was connected by trade routes with Germany, the Low Countries and Spain.

In 910 William, Duke of Aquitaine, gave his town of Cluny with the chapel of St. Mary and St. Peter, and all other appurtenances, chapels, serfs of either sex, vineyards,

¹ Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny*, i. 29-31.

fields, meadows, woods, waters and wastes, to Bernard, Abbot of Baume, to found and rule over a monastery for monks—who should live a regular life according to the Rule of St. Benedict. In his charter the duke set forth his ideal for the community :

‘ With a full heart and mind the monks shall build an exceeding pleasant place, so far as they can and know how. We will also that in our time and those of our successors, works of mercy shall be shewn daily to the poor and needy, to travellers and pilgrims so far as the opportunity and ability of the place shall allow.’¹

The first monks of Cluny had a struggle with poverty : the founder died in 918, and in 926 the Church was still not finished.² When Odo succeeded Abbot Berno in 927 he had not the money to pay for the other buildings of the monastery, and it was only through the generosity of friends in Aquitaine that he was able to go on with the work.³ But the fame of the good lives of the monks of Cluny was rapidly spread abroad, and lands, property and privileges of every kind were granted to the monastery. The charters of Cluny have been printed in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, and four large quarto volumes are filled with those granted before 1091 ; among the benefactors were popes, emperors, kings, dukes, counts and even the smallest landowners, priests, and women of all ranks. New priories were founded when lands were granted at a long distance from Cluny, and a yearly pension was paid from them to the mother-house.

Early in the second half of the Eleventh century, a monk named Bernard wrote a detailed account of the daily life of the monastery which he called the *Customs of Cluny*. About twenty years afterwards William, Abbot of the German monastery of Hirschau, asked his friend, Ulric,

¹ *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, ed. Bernard et Bruel, i. 124.

² The Church is first described as consecrated in 927, *Recueil des Chartes*, i 280, *cf.* also p. 264, and Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxiii 98.

³ Migne, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 62.

a monk of Cluny, to write an account of the Customs for him. Ulric abridged and re-arranged Bernard's work and made some additions to it. Ulric's work is well known, for it was reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cxlix, from the text in D'Achery's *Spicilegium* (ed. 1671), but the *Customs* of Bernard have not been reprinted since they were published in 1726 in Herrgott's *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, a rare book¹; and a new edition of them is now in preparation.

In a charming preface Bernard told how the older monks of Cluny had passed away, and disputes frequently took place between their successors about the Customs; there was great diversity of opinion, and novices often went out from the chapter more uncertain than when they came in. He resolved to search out the truth with his utmost zeal, both from the earlier written Customs and from what he had learnt and might be able to discover, and to leave a record for those who should come after him. The work was dedicated to Abbot Hugh, for wrote Bernard, 'whatever I have apprehended of the way of religion is rather of your gift than of my own industry.' It still contains the most complete and detailed account of the occurrences of everyday life in a great mediaeval monastery.

Cluny then possessed considerable estates within a radius of a few miles. These were divided into obediences or deaneries, and monks called deans were put in charge of them, and lived there with another monk as a companion, and some servants who were distinguished by their beards. The dean was entirely responsible for the cultivation of the fields and vineyards, and the care of the horses, cattle, sheep and pigs. When both harvest and vintage were over, the prior of Cluny came round and looked at the barn and the cellar, decided what should be kept, and ordered the rest to be sent to the monastery. The dean paid over all money received for rents and dues at his obedience to the *camerarius* or chamberlain of Cluny, who handed him back a third for the expenses of agriculture

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies*, xv 182, 185.

and the maintenance of himself and his guests, for in the words of Bernard 'if these were not received, it would be altogether inhuman.' If women came and hospitality could not be denied them, the dean never sat at table with them. If the obedience lay within half a day's ride of Cluny the dean returned to the monastery every Saturday before Vespers to spend Sunday there. He ambled along and was forbidden to gallop, or even to run on foot, except when in peril of fire or of death. However great the heat he was not allowed to take off his frock and ride only in his cowl. When on the road at the times for the services of the Hours, he dismounted, pulled his hood off his head, and said the service.

If deaneries were situated so far off that the corn and wine could not be carried to Cluny, they were sold, and the money was sent to the chamberlain. When the prior returned from his autumn round of visits to the deaneries, he told the keeper of the wine how much would be sent from each place. The vineyards at Cluny and close by were under the direct supervision of the keeper of the wine; he got money from the chamberlain to pay the wages of all the labourers hired for the vintage, for new hoops for the wine casks and for other repairs. It was the duty of the sacrist to watch for the ripening of the first grapes and to bring some to the church to be blessed at Mass. These were afterwards distributed to the monks in the refectory or frater.

The keeper of the granary checked and stored the bushels of corn, barley and beans sent in from the deaneries, according to the prior's list.

The chamberlain was the treasurer and also the chief buyer of the monastery, and whether he bought or sold, he gave a little more or took a little less in accordance with St. Benedict's precept that monks should sell for less than others. He received all gifts of gold, silver and animals. The cows he handed over to the cellarer as the dairy was under his charge, and also any donations of ten shillings and under to provide special food for sick and delicate brothers. Gold and silver vessels, any cup suitable for a

chalice, hangings and vestments, were all given to the sacrist. Friends of the monastery who had not lands or anything else to offer sometimes promised to pay five or ten shillings a year or more or less; the chamberlain set aside these sums for the repair of the pipes which brought the water into the lavatory or washing-place in the cloister.

The chamberlain provided all the clothes, shoes and bedding of the monks. He bought cloth and fur, both of a cheap quality, and employed a number of tailors in a workshop in the monastery,¹ making the new clothes which were given out at stated times in the year. Each monk had a new frock and a new cowl once a year, and a new sheepskin pelisse every three years, and shirts and drawers when he needed them. His whole wardrobe consisted of two frocks, two cowls, two shirts, two pairs of drawers, two pairs of day-shoes with straps, one pair of night-boots of felt for the winter, and another pair without felt for the summer nights, two pairs of gaiters, three pelisses or instead of one of them a sort of fur petticoat or kilt, a hood made of skins, five pairs of stockings, a linen girdle, a leather strap from which hung his knife in its sheath, a needle with cotton in a case. His bed was of hay which was renewed every summer and he had a pillow, a coverlet, and apparently two blankets. The coverlet was of sheepskin, cat-skin or hare-skin.

Once or twice a day according to the seasons there was a short time when the monks were allowed to talk in the cloister, and then either the chamberlain or his junior was always present to hear if any of the monks, novices or children needed anything. The monk who found that his cassock, shirt or drawers were torn but worth mending, put them at dawn under one of the arches of the chapter-house, and the junior chamberlain carried them off to the tailors' workshop, and brought them back before Vespers. Shoes and stockings to be mended were put on the stone below the arch, and bed coverlets on the wall by the step of the

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies*, xv. 181. *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, i 138.

dormitory or dorter. If a monk's shoes wanted greasing, he first washed them in a special trough, then got some grease from the chamberlain and went to the kitchen to rub it in, or if he liked, the chamberlain had it done for him. When new drawers were given out, each monk wrote his name on them in ink, and the chamberlain took them back to the tailors' shop to be marked in thread. Every Tuesday clothes to be washed were piled up in a chest in the cloister, the keeper of the granary admitted the washers when the monks were at morning Mass; and another monk was present to keep a record either in writing or by tally of the clothes taken away; these were brought back on Saturdays after the service of None, and he sat in the cloister watching to see that no monk was so careless as to take anything not marked with his own name. Clothes and everything else left about in the cloister were taken into the chapter-house and put behind the pulpit. At the daily morning meeting, after the words 'Let us speak about our order' were said, anyone who had lost anything got up to see if it was there; if he found it he begged pardon and asked the prior for leave to take it: this was granted unless it was a monk who was in the habit of losing his clothes, and then he suffered some penalty for it.

The cellarer was responsible for the food of the monastery, with the help of several monks who held office under him. The keeper of the granary sent his servants out to the woods with asses to bring back fuel for the kitchens and the bakers' oven. The bakers too were his servants, and if they did not produce the full tale of loaves from each bushel, or if the bread was not good, it was his business to take them before the prior or cellarer to be beaten. The servants who suffered this penalty had a right to claim half a pound of bread and a cup of wine to be given them immediately. If the bread was burnt the servants of the monk who laid the tables in the refectory or frater tucked napkins under their chins, held the loaves against their chests and scraped them with their knives. The usual allowance of bread for each monk was a pound a day, but if a monk had eaten it all at dinner, he was given another

half-pound at supper. The wine was measured out for each monk, and poured into his drinking-cup, which was covered with a twig of box to keep out the flies, and a twig of vine dipped in glue was put in his place as a fly trap, and renewed every other day.

Dinner consisted of three courses: the first of dried beans, and the third of other vegetables which were supplied by the gardener; these were cooked in the monks' kitchen by the monks who served in turns, six a time. The second course was cooked by the servants in another kitchen; on Sundays and Thursdays fish was provided, on the other days either cheese or eggs, of which four or five were allowed for each monk. If by any chance this second course was not cooked by the right time, it was the cellarer's duty to take away the hammer, so that the bell could not be sounded for dinner, and the keeper of the granary took it away if the bread was not ready. On certain feast days instead of beans the monks had onions, little cakes and spiced wine. The cellarer had lands close to Cluny where he pastured his horses and set nets in the river. The monk who looked after the fishing had a privilege granted to no one else, for he was allowed to ride through the great gateway facing the church and so on to the kitchen with his fish, and he might go out of the monastery to set nets after vespers. If he had not enough fish, the cellarer might only buy it when it was at a reasonable price. Cowsheds, pigsties, sheepfolds, and rams were under the cellarer's charge, and he had a list of the live-stock at each deanery. All cheeses and eggs offered to the monastery were given to him, unless the sacrist had some work in hand, and then he was allowed some to feed his servants. The candles used in the church and in the monastery were made in the sacristy.

If a monk was not well, the cellarer provided him with more delicate food in the refectory, but if he did not get better he was sent into the infirmary to try a meat diet for a time; so long as he was there he walked with a stick and went about with his hood over his head. The infirmary was close to the church of St. Mary to which invalid monks went for the services of the Hours, but if they could they

walked to the great church for Mass. There were several rooms in the infirmary besides the kitchen and scullery, and it was under the charge of a monk called the *infirmarius* who had a cook and three other servants for the ordinary work. Whenever a monk was seriously ill another monk was sent into the infirmary to watch by him and wait on him. The keeper of the infirmary drew his daily supplies from the cellarer and got money from the chamberlain to buy other things. In his own store he always kept candles, pepper and cummin, besides ginger and various roots, so that if anyone was ill and had a sudden attack of pain, he could give him a drink of spiced wine. Those who were well enough to be up had each his own little table and chair, and the keeper brought the dishes into the different rooms himself; if they wanted anything else they hit the tables with their knives, and when one of the servants came, they said 'Bring me some salt or some mustard.'

The test of complete recovery was that a monk should at once be able to do his week's service in the kitchen, and when he left the infirmary he begged for pardon in Chapter, because he had not been able to keep the rule as he ought to have done.

According to the founder's wish, works of mercy were shewn daily to the poor and needy, to travellers and pilgrims. The great guest-house for those who came on horseback was 135 feet long and 30 feet wide; in it there was a lodging for men with forty beds, and a lodging with thirty beds for countesses and honourable women, and a common refectory.¹ The monk who was keeper of the hostel had several servants including a cook, a porter and a groom, and when there were many guests, as at the greater festivals, the servants of the abbot, prior and chamberlain, and the tailors too came to help at the hostel. Bishops, abbots, monks and priests dined with the monks, but the keeper provided for the lay folks in the refectory of the hostel, and fetched what he needed from the cellarer's storehouse. When there were many guests, the wine was not measured

¹ *Consuetudines Monasticae*, i 138.

out to him, but he went to the cask and drew as much as he wanted. If the keeper of the wine saw him taking more than was necessary, he first warned him, and afterwards complained to the prior.

If the guests wanted to see over the monastery the hosteller sought permission from the prior to take them while the monks were at Mass. They had to remove their spurs and greaves, and were then shewn the cloister, almonry, cellarer's storehouse, kitchen, refectory, lodging of the novices, dormitory and infirmary.

When a bishop, a count or countess or some other rich person came, the sacrist provided the keeper of the hostel with two candles to set before them and a ball of wax to burn all night. He also had a ball of wax when six or seven monks slept in the hostel, which often happened when they came from the priories to make their profession at Cluny.

The monastery stables were under the charge of a monk called the *connestabulus* with one groom to look after the horses of the prior and other officers, and another provided by the abbot for his own horses. The stables were 280 feet long and 25 feet wide, and the monastery servants ate and slept in the upper storey.¹ The *connestabulus* had barley and oats, and also a supply of horseshoes in his store, but if he ran short he got money from the chamberlain to buy what he needed. The guests' horses were fed by him. When the guests had begun to eat in the refectory of the hostel, the *connestabulus* came in and said cheerfully and modestly 'Benedicite,' and after the reply 'The Lord be with you' he said 'All that is in our service I offer you, and I will serve you, and with abundance.' To all the guests he gave as many horseshoes as they wanted, but if there was any doubt he looked at the horses' feet himself, especially when he was dealing with the guests' servants. To those who lived near Cluny and passed by the monastery on a journey, he did not refuse one or two horseshoes. None were given to men who came in to Cluny to market, for

¹ *Consuetudines Monasticae*, i, 139.

no one who came to Cluny for markets, fairs or lawsuits was received at the guest-house.

There were other travellers who came on foot to Cluny, and yet they were not the poor, so they did not care to go to the almonry. If they were lodging in the town, and there were twelve or fifteen of them, the hosteller sent them bread, meat and wine ; if they were a company of fifty or a hundred, so that it was no light thing to provide them altogether with necessities, the keeper sent them a present of bread and wine.

All pilgrims who came on foot could get food at the almonry if they chose. For his charity and hospitality the almoner received a tenth of all tithes paid in money to the monastery, and a tenth of all money offered in the church. For every monk who was professed of the congregation of Cluny, wherever he died, the almoner drew a full allowance of food and wine for thirty days, and two extra portions in case for any reason the news of a death did not reach Cluny, and on each anniversary of the death of a monk of Cluny a full allowance. In 1147 when there was a financial crisis, Abbot Peter the Venerable limited the number of anniversary portions for dead monks to fifty a day ; there were then three hundred monks at Cluny, and Peter said that as the dead continued to increase they would in course of time expel the living.¹ The almoner also had every day three portions which were first set on the high table in the monks' refectory, in memory of Abbot Odilo (*ob.* 1049), the Emperor Henry I and Ferdinand, King of Spain, his wife, and the other kings of Spain, and half what was left by the monks in the refectory of the beans and the second course of fish, eggs or cheese, and all the vegetables, apples and such-like things. For every pilgrim he received a pound of bread on the first day and half a pound on the second, and half a monk's measure of wine each day. Nuns did not enter the court of the almonry, so he went to the gate to give them each a measure of wine and a pound of bread. The pilgrims ate together at the

¹ *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, v 478, 479.

almonry, but if one of them had left a sick or tired wife at his lodging in the town, the almoner gave him an allowance for her. At the almoner's request poor priests who came on foot from a distant land were invited to dine in the monks' refectory.

Every day the keeper of the granary provided the almoner with twelve tarts or cakes each weighing three pounds, which he distributed among widows and orphans, the lame and the blind, old men and old women, and strangers. Once a week the almoner went all round the town to visit the poor who lay sick, and his servants accompanied him carrying baskets of bread and meat and vessels of wine. When he came to the house of a man who was ill, the women folk went out of it, and he visited him and consoled him as well as he could. He sent his servants in to visit the women who were ill. All the invalids were asked if they were in need of anything which he had not brought, and he then tried to get it and sent it to them by his servants.

There were eighteen poor men called *prebendarii* or pensioners who lived in the almonry; the almoner drew special allowances of food and drink for them, and they also received new clothes and a pair of shoes once a year.

To help him in his duties the almoner had five servants. He sent out two daily with asses to bring fuel from the woods, and four at intervals to cut rushes, for it was his duty to see that the pavement of the church, the cloister and the monastery buildings was swept six times a year, and strewn with fresh rushes. His servants also cleaned the lavatory where the monks washed their hands, and cleared the water course which served as the great drain for sanitation, and made sluices in the summer to keep the water up to the right level.

It was the duty of other officials to find special charities. On Quinquagesima Sunday the chamberlain provided all the poor who chose to come with a meal of as much salt pork as they could eat; each deanery provided one salted hog, amounting perhaps to twelve, but the chamberlain bought the rest, and Ulric of Cluny writing about 1085

testified that in the year just past 17,000 poor were counted and 250 hogs were divided among them, in the name of Christ.¹ On Maundy Thursday as many poor as there were monks were received in the guest hostel, and fed with two courses, beans and millet ; after the monks had washed the feet of these poor in the cloister, they gave them each a drink of wine and two pennies. This particular charity was not indiscriminate, for the dean of Cluny carefully chose out men who were known to live good lives. On the feast of Pentecost, the sacrist provided a good meal of bread, meat, and wine for as many poor as there were monks in the monastery and the infirmary. On Monday after the Feast of the Trinity, when the monks made special remembrance of all their dead, twelve poor men were fed with bread, meat, and wine, and all the poor who chose to come and ask for it received bread and wine.

There are two interesting accounts of Cluny written by men who received hospitality during the rule of Abbot Hugh. In 1075 William de Warenne who came from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror set out with his wife Gundreda on a pilgrimage to Rome.

‘ We went to many monasteries,’ he wrote, ‘ in France and Burgundy to offer our prayers, and when we had come to Burgundy, we learnt that we could not safely travel through it on account of the war between the pope and the emperor, so we turned aside to the monastery of Cluny, a great and holy abbey in honour of St. Peter, and there we adored and besought St. Peter.’² And because we found holiness and religion and so great charity, and we were so honourably received by the good prior, and by all the holy convent who took us into their society and fraternity, we began to have love and devotion for that order and that house above all other houses which we had seen. But the lord Hugh, the holy abbot, was not at home. And because my wife and I had long before and then the more greatly desired, with the advice of the lord Lanfranc, the archbishop, to found a house of religion for our sins and for the safety of our souls, it seemed to us that for no order would we so willingly do this as for that of Cluny. Therefore we sent and requested

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxlix 753.

² *Ibid.* iv 689-696.

the lord Hugh and all the holy congregation that they would grant us two, three, or four monks of that holy flock and we would give them the stone church which we had built (it was formerly of wood and dedicated from old time in honour of St. Pancras), and as a beginning as much land, animals, and other things as would support twelve monks. But the holy abbot at first was hard in hearkening to our petition on account of the long distance of that strange land and especially on account of the sea.'

After some delay, in 1077 Abbot Hugh sent three monks with their prior, Lanzo, to St. Pancras at Lewes.

Another guest at Cluny was Peter Damiani, the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, well known as an ascetic monk and a stern reformer. The occasion of his visit in 1063 was the quarrel between the monastery and the bishop of Macon. From the foundation the monastery had enjoyed the privilege of papal protection, and Gregory V (996-999) forbade any bishop to exercise any function within the monastery except by invitation.¹ John XIX (1024-1033) forbade any bishop to put the monastery under an interdict or to excommunicate any of the monks wheresoever they might be. These bulls deprived the bishops of Macon of all jurisdiction over Cluny. In 1063 Bishop Drogo came to Cluny with a band of armed knights, and 'trampling the ancient liberty of the place under his proud foot, and holding the privileges of the Holy See to be nothing worth,' he put the parish church of St. Majolus, close to the monastery, under an interdict, and excommunicated many of the monks.² Abbot Hugh set out for Rome, and made his complaint to the Pope in council. Peter Damiani, the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, offered his services as papal legate to right the abbot of Cluny. After a most trying journey across the Alps in the great summer heat Peter Damiani and his companions arrived at Cluny and were received with a procession and great devotion. He summoned a synodal council at Chalon-sur-Saône and Drogo, bishop of Macon, came like a triumphant warrior, trusting in his learning

¹ *Millénaire de Cluny*, 'Le privilège de l'exemption,' i 255-9.

² Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxlv 859-62, 862-79.

and eloquence, and in the support of other bishops who were envious of the abbot of Cluny, and realized that if he prevailed over Drogo, none of them would be able to stand up against him. Peter Damiani opened the synod with a powerful sermon and then ordered the series of papal bulls granted to Cluny to be read. Both sides were heard, but the bishops were constrained to decree that the papal privileges of Cluny should be held inviolate. Then Bishop Drogo swore this oath upon the book of the Gospels :

‘ Hear, O lord Peter, bishop of Ostia, and all the holy synod, on that day when I came in my wrath to Cluny, I acted not in contempt or scorn of the Holy See, or of the lord Alexander, bishop of Rome, nor did I then clearly understand the tenor and sense of the privileges which have now been read in our ears, so help me God and these holy gospels.’

Four priests of the cathedral church of Macon swore the same oath. The bishop prostrated himself on the pavement, confessed that he had sinned, and asked for pardon, and received a penance of fasting for seven days on bread and water. So peace was made between him and the abbot.

In letters written to the abbot and to the monks after his return to Rome Peter Damiani praised the strict lives of the monks of Cluny.¹ His companion, probably a monk named John, was enraptured during the stay of eight days in the monastery.² He noted the monks’ strict observance of the rule of silence, their cheap clothing and bedding, wholly in accordance in his judgement with the Rule of St. Benedict. No matter how long the day, there was no interval, he said, in the round of services in the church : in fact, the monks were so worn out that when the time came for speaking in the cloister, they made much use of signs. Whether or no this was the reason, there was a most elaborate language of signs in use at Cluny.³ The monk praised their care of the sick, their alms to the poor, their hospitality to all. He marvelled at the aisled church with its many altars, the relics of the saints and the costly

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxliv 374-8.

² *Ibid.* cxlv 873-4.

³ Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, pp. 169-73.

treasures ; the immense and beautiful cloister which seemed to invite monks to dwell there, the dormitory with three lights always burning, the refectory with its paintings, and the other stone buildings ranged around the cloister, the bounteous water supply.

The lands of the monks were sometimes raided by the lords of Branzion, Berzé and Bussières.¹ Bernard wrote in the *Customs* :

‘ If a robber is wasting the lands and property of the Church and the monks want to make their complaints to the people, they summon all the people to the great church on Sunday, and then morning Mass is sung at the Crucifix. After the gospel the priest says the Nicene Creed and one of the monks goes up into the pulpit and speaking for a short time concerning the divine precepts, he then makes known to them the tribulation, suggesting that they should offer alms and ask God to make the evil-doer to be at peace with them and turn evil to good. He adds also some humble words of persuasion saying “ You know that if our substance is taken from us, we cannot live ; pray to God, therefore, brothers, and we will cry out to Him.” While the choir said a response, all the bells were rung slowly, and then the monks said three special psalms for use in time of trouble.’

The monks had lands and vineyards at Berzé which were quite at the mercy of the lord of the strong castle which dominated the road between Macon and Cluny. Walter de Berzé ferociously laid waste their lands and did much damage and destruction. After warnings and remonstrances he at last made an end of his evil deeds.² In 1050 he came to Cluny and in the chapter-house he renounced all his claims on the lands and serfs which the monastery held at Berzé, and had possessed in peace in the time of his father. He swore fealty to St. Peter on the holy relics in the presence of his two little sons, and he commended them to Abbot Hugh with the understanding that when they came to years of discretion, they should swear the same oath of fealty. At this reconciliation the monks gave Walter de Berzé three hundred shillings.

¹ *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, xix 254 (1891).

² *Recueil des Chartes*, iv 417-8.

The earlier church, afterwards called St. Pierre le Vieux, which filled Peter Damiani's companion with wonder, became too small as both monks and pilgrims increased in numbers. In 1089 the foundation stone was laid of the largest church in the world before the building of St. Peter's at Rome. It was north of the older church which divided it from the cloister.¹ In six years the choir was so far advanced that it was dedicated by Urban II, when he stayed at Cluny on his way to hold the council of Clermont, at which he preached the first crusade. The nave was longer in building, for part of it collapsed in 1125, and the church was finally dedicated by Innocent II in 1132. It had double aisles, double transepts and an ambulatory with radiating chapels, and a nave of sixteen bays. There were three towers at the crossing between the nave and the greater transept, another tower at the crossing of the choir and the eastern transept, and two towers at the western end of the narthex which was not finished until 1220. The total length of the church then was over 530 feet.

After the Revolution, this church was almost entirely destroyed: it was sold to speculators who spent nearly as many years in pulling it down as the monks had taken in building it.² Only the southern arm of the greater transept remains with the great octagonal tower, the 'clocher de l'eau bénite,' and the smaller 'clocher de l'horloge.' Yet Cluny is well worth a visit. From Macon, now an important junction on the main Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée line, a branch runs to Cluny and on to Paray-le-Monial. The best way to approach Cluny is to get out at the wayside station of La Croix Blanche to visit Berzé-le-Chatel and Berzé-les-Moines. The castle of Berzé is splendidly situated on a very steep high hill, and is inhabited by a descendant of its mediaeval lords; the present building is mainly of the Fifteenth century, though the great gateway and the

¹ *Millénaire de Cluny*, 'Un ancien plan de l'abbaye de Cluny,' ii 239; *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, xix 246-332 (L'église abbatiale de Cluny).

² *Millénaire*, ii 359-61.

outer wall and towers are of earlier date.¹ On a lower hill is the château des moines of Berzé-la-ville, an Eighteenth-century group of buildings on the land which the monks of Cluny owned in 1050 when they suffered from the raids of Walter de Berzé. In the Romanesque chapel which was built about the middle of the Twelfth century, there are wonderful contemporary frescoes which were hidden under whitewash until they were discovered in 1887.² From Berzé it is pleasant to drive behind a good horse over the hills down into the valley, past banks covered with golden broom in May, and so to enter Cluny, like the popes, by the bridge across the Grosne, seeing as the most conspicuous tower in the town the 'clocher de l'eau bénite.' The Hôtel de Bourgogne covers part of the ground on which once stood an aisle of the nave. Though much has been wantonly destroyed, there is still much to interest the traveller in the fragment of the great church and the chapelle de Bourbon, in the charming palaces of the Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century abbots, Jean de Bourbon (1457-1485) and Jacques d'Amboise (1485-1510), now the Musée Ochier and the Hôtel de Ville, the Eighteenth-century buildings of the monastery, the walls and towers of various dates, the two fine parish churches, and the stone houses of the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries.

ROSE GRAHAM.

ART. IX.—THE PAENULA AND CHASUBLE.

The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers. (Report of the Five Bishops to the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation.) (S.P.C.K. 1908.)

THE chasuble or *paenula* has had a most varied fortune. Sometimes it is found in ceremonial use amongst tribes

¹ *Millénaire*, ii 257-299, 'Description architecturale du Château de Berzé-le-Chatel.'

² *Millénaire*, ii 248-56, 'Peintures murales de la chapelle du château des moines à Berzé-la-ville.'

that have barely ceased to be savages¹; at other times in its history it appears as the dress of senators and consuls, and of the highest rank of ecclesiastics. As it was originally of the simplest form, a circular or oblong piece of cloth, with a hole in the centre to allow the passage of the head, and large enough to cover the whole body, it must have been very early known to man even in the state of barbarism. It was, and is still in some parts of the world, merely a protection against cold, wind, rain, or snow. It may be well to put before the reader a description of the *paenula* from Daremberg and Saglio's authoritative *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*; it should be noted that Monsieur Leroux speaks of the two varieties of the *paenula*, one which is open in front, and the other—the more usual, he thinks—closed in front. This point will need to be borne in mind when we come to discuss the varieties of the *paenula* in use after it has become a Christian vestment, the chasuble.

'Les campagnards, les esclaves, les citadins en voyage, et parfois les soldats, portaient la *paenula*, épais manteau de laine, de *gausapa*, ou de cuir fait pour le mauvais temps et commun aux deux sexes; taillée en forme de cloche ou de fourreau, la *paenula* enfermait étroitement le corps, et lorsqu'elle était longue, paralysait les deux bras. Elle pouvait être fendue par devant et fermée au moyen d'agrafes ou de boutons; l'hôte qui recevait un voyageur ainsi vêtu commençait par lui déboutonner (*rescindere*) sa *paenula*. Mais elle était le plus souvent cousue, sans agrafes ni boutons, et on la revêtait comme un fourreau, en passant la tête dans l'ouverture du col.'²

It will be universally acknowledged that the *paenula*

¹ It should be observed that a barbarous tribe of Indians on the north-west coast of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia wear as ceremonial dress a blanket shaped like the early chasuble. It is described as of 'the form of a truncated cone, with no openings for the arms.' (Albert P. Niblack, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . . for the Year ending June 30, 1888*. Washington, 1890, p. 273.)

² G. Leroux, sub voce *pallium*, in Ch. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* (Paris, Hachette, 1904), t. iv, première partie, p. 291.

first appears at Rome as the garment of the working classes, of slaves and peasants. But as time goes on its fortunes improve; Cicero speaks of it as if in his day it were already the dress of the gentlefolk. People who come to dine with him wear the *paenula* or chasuble.¹ A step higher may be noticed under Theodosius, when senators are not allowed to wear military dress within the walls of the city, but are to appear in the peaceful garments of alb and chasuble.² There may be noticed here the combination of the alb (*colobus* or *tunica*) with the chasuble which is to last for centuries.

The following is a version of the law itself:

‘At all hours, morning included, no senator, while within the walls of the city [*sc.* Rome or Constantinople], is to adopt the military uniform: but, putting aside the martial cloak, with its alarming look, he is to wear the peaceful garb of *alb* and *chasuble*. Members of his retinue we command to use the chasuble, but to have their [alb or] under-garment girded: provided, however, that they cover the breast with a [scarf, plaid or] pall of divers colours, and so shew, by this means of recognition, what is proper to men in their rank of life. Slaves, of course, of anyone (provided that their master is not under obligation of military service [*i.e.* an officer in the army]) we permit to adopt russet cloaks or hoods [= *copes*].’

This translation has been given me by the Rev. Dr. B. J. Kidd, who adds the following observations:

‘This law was in view of the popularity of barbarian fashions—probably Gothic: for which compare Maximus the Cynic who curled his hair and dyed it yellow to look like a Goth and

¹ Cicero *ad Atticum*, xiii 33 § 4. ‘De Varrone loquebamur: lupus in fabula. Venit enim ad me, et quidem id temporis, ut retinendus esset. Sed ego ita egi, ut non scinderem penulam.’ (Ed. Nobbe, Lips. 1850, p. 926.)

² ‘Sed chlamydis terrore deposito, quieta coloborum ac penularum induat vestimenta.’ (*Codex Theodosian.* lib. xiv cap. x. 1. Genev. Fabre, 1593, p. 445.) Dr. Brightman says distinctly that the decree ‘required senators to wear what we should call an alb and a chasuble.’ (*Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1901, p. 391.)

by this means nearly supplanted St. Gregory Nazianzen in the favour of the ladies of his congregation at Constantinople. "Gregory," they said, "is a good preacher: but Maximus has such darling curls"—yellow and black.'¹

In the West, it was not Gothic but German fashions that were the rage.

'Three edicts of Honorius between 397 and 416 forbid the wearing of trousers, long hair, and fur coats of the barbarian style within the precincts of the City.'²

With the Sixth-century writers, the *paenula* or chasuble is spoken of as attaining a great pitch of dignity. It has become an ensign of the consul himself.³ G. B. de Rossi discovered a drawing in which no less a person than the *Praefectus Annonae* is represented in alb and chasuble.⁴ The drawing upon a glass vessel shews a group of figures, apparently the *Praefectus Annonae* and his wife in the middle, his son on his right, and the daughter, perhaps, on the left of the mother. Alb and chasuble (*tunica* and *paenula*) are worn by the two men. The *paenulae* are divided in two from the neck to the bottom of the garment by a seam, and are cut away at the lower end of the seam, though not to so great an extent as in the *paenulae* of the Mercury spoken of below from Bartolus Bartholinus. The lady has a *mappa* in her left hand: her right is on the shoulder of the prefect.

¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmen* xi. de vita sua 751-72. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, xxxvii 1082.)

² Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire* (Macmillan, 1899), bk. iv ch. i p. 297.

³ Ioannes Lydus, *de Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae*, i 32, ed. Fuss, Lugd. Batav. Luchtmans, 1812, p. 54. 'Consulum insignia toga alba talaes et colobus paenula aliquanto restrictior laticlavus purpura' etc.

Primasius, Bishop of Adrumetum, otherwise Justinianopolis, in the Sixth century, writes: 'Penula vestis erat consularis antiquorum Romanorum' (in *Ep. ii ad Timoth.* iv 13. Migne, *P.L.* lxxviii 679).

⁴ G. B. de Rossi, *Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 1885, lvii 223, tav. d'agg. I. See specially p. 230.

Pope Celestine the First (A.D. 423-432), just at the moment when the ordinary dress of the civil magistrate is becoming the fixed liturgical costume, addresses some cogent remarks to the Gaulish bishops, telling the clergy that they were to dress not in an ascetic fashion, but just as the rest of mankind at the time did¹; the upper classes, we have seen, wore alb and chasuble.

Bearing upon this there is the tradition recorded by Walafrid Strabo, who died in 859, that in the first centuries the Christian mysteries were celebrated by priests wearing their everyday clothes; these may have been like our Sunday clothes, only to be distinguished from everyday wear by a greater freshness or richness.

‘Vestes etiam sacerdotales per incrementa ad eum, qui nunc habetur, auctae sunt ornatum. Nam primis temporibus communi indumento vestiti, Missas agebant, sicut et hactenus quidam Orientalium facere perhibentur.’²

The *commune indumentum* of Walafrid Strabo was doubtless the *tunica* and *paenula*; or in other words, the alb and chasuble.

Upon Celestine’s letter Dr. B. J. Kidd allows me to print a note taken from his lectures on ecclesiastical history:

‘Celestine’s reproof is interesting. It shews on the unimpeachable evidence of a Pope, that while as yet in the West there was no specifically liturgical dress for the clergy in church, nevertheless they wore chasuble and alb for Sunday clothes as would other gentlemen in their congregation. A couple of hundred years later, gentlemen in the congregation would have been found wearing the tunic and breeches of their barbarian conquerors; and only the clergy retained the flowing attire of the Roman gentleman, which by this time was becoming specifically liturgical, though not even to-day specifically sacerdotal, nor specifically eucharistic, but traditional and seemly.’³

¹ Celestine, *Epist.* iv cap. I § 2. (Migne, *P.L.* l 431.) Discernendi a plebe vel caeteris sumus doctrina, non veste; conversatione, non habitu; mentis puritate, non cultu.’

² Walafrid Strabo, *De rebus ecclesiasticis* cap. 24, in Melchior Hittorp, *De divinis etc.*, Paris, 1610, col. 686.

³ Cf. C. Bigg, *Wayside Sketches on Ecclesiastical History* (Longmans, 1906), p. 228, note 1.

Some antiquaries have thought that the toga was the forerunner of the chasuble as church vestment. But this view is rejected by Rohault de Fleury and Dr. Adrian Fortescue, on the grounds that the toga was the dress of the great, the rich, and the noble, while the Church adopted the *paenula* because it was the dress of the poor and humble. But Monsieur Courby is of opinion that the toga itself was sometimes the dress of the humble, and even of the vicious, and not always a garment of the aristocrats of Rome.

‘ Martial se moquera de la *togula* des clients, et *plebs togata* deviendra synonyme de populace. A partir du IV^e siècle, la toge semble au contraire réservée aux hauts dignitaires en fonctions officielles et à l’empereur.

‘ La toge était aussi un vêtement imposé aux femmes de mœurs irrégulières.’¹

So that the opinion that the toga was rejected because it was the dress of the upper classes seems based on uncertain facts, and the argument is therefore unconvincing. Still it is maintained by these writers.

‘ Je ne pense pas toutefois que la toge ait pu servir de modèle en cette circonstance, car elle était le privilège des grands, des fastueux, lorsque le christianisme n’avait guère encore d’autres adeptes que les petits et les humbles.’

Thus the true sympathies of the Christian religion are shewn when the dress of the slave, the *paenula*, became the Christian vestment above all others.

‘ Tel fut le vêtement dont héritèrent sans doute les chrétiens et qui finit par s’introduire dans leur liturgie.’²

Much the same are the thoughts of Dr. Adrian Fortescue.

‘ The toga could be worn only by Roman citizens, and most Christians were not Roman citizens. It was an aristocratic garment, a symbol of national pride. It did not suit the people

¹ Ch. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* (Paris, Hachette, 1913), fasc. xlviii sub voce *Toga*, p. 348.

² Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe* (Paris, 1888), vii^e vol. pp. 112, 115.

who stood for a universal Church which gave equal rights to slaves, freedmen, barbarians.'¹

But this is a somewhat sentimental way of writing the history of liturgical vestments. Still more, it is to make the history of the chasuble unlike that of other ornaments. These were not borrowed from the mean and abject of the populace, but from the dignified and high-placed civil servants of the Empire. It may be believed that the Fathers of the age in which special vestments began to be worn would have been shocked at the use of common and shabby garments in the divine worship, even as we have seen above that Pope Celestine the First was shocked at the use of some unkempt imitations of the clothing of St. John the Baptist.

It may be noticed that it is not quite settled among the Roman antiquaries what the precise shape of the toga was. Some think that it was an ellipse; others that in its earliest shape it was rectangular; while others maintain that if it were rectangular at first, yet later it became semicircular.² Until we know more accurately what the shape of the toga was, we can hardly discuss profitably its influence on the Christian vestments.

From representations that have come down to us as well as from the writings of authors, it will have been gathered that there were two shapes of the *paenula* in ancient Rome: one, which was undivided, following the simple idea of a round or oval blanket with a mere hole in the centre to allow the head of the wearer to pass through; and another, which was indeed much the same as the former, the only difference being that it was divided in front for the convenience of putting on. By this division the thrusting of the head in a somewhat uncertain direction, and the possible disarrangement of the hair were avoided. It could be put on like a modern cloak or an old-fashioned Eighteenth-century surplice.

¹ Adrian Fortescue, *The Vestments of the Roman Rite* (London, Catholic Truth Society [1914]), p. 6.

² See Courby, in Ch. Daremberg and Saglio, *loc. cit.*

It seems that Cicero speaks of this latter kind when he tells Atticus that one Varro came to see him, expecting to be asked to stay dinner: 'Sed ita egi, ut non scinderem paenulam.'¹ Cicero did not even make a show of undoing² the *paenula* of the unbidden guest, as we do not invite a bore, when he comes to see us, to take off his great-coat.

This divided *paenula* is recognized almost as soon as the history of the *paenula* begins to be studied at the end of the Seventeenth century. Bartolus Bartholinus, in his tract *de paenula*, gives a drawing of a Mercury clad in a *paenula* which has plainly a seam up the middle front of the garment.³

Mercury, as a messenger, appears equipped for all weathers, and thus wears the *paenula*. This *paenula* is divided, shewing a distinct join from the neck to the bottom of the garment. At the end of the seam the stuff has been cut away so as to leave a triangular space, like that presented by a modern waistcoat. In fact the division is so usual that it is said of the *paenula*:

'In most cases a tuckered seam runs down the centre in front.'⁴

And Monsieur Viollet-le-Duc has reproduced this figure of Mercury in a *paenula* as an illustration of the word *cape*⁵; which drawing has again been borrowed by Dom

¹ Cicero, *Epistolae ad Atticum*, xiii 33 § 4. Tyrrell and Purser, *Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero* (Dublin University Press, 1897), v 126. They translate *scinderem paenulam* by 'I did not quite tear his cloak.'

² This view of the expression *scinderem paenulam* is supported by Joachim Marquardt. (*Das Privatleben der Römer*, 2^e Auflage, Leipzig, Hirzel, 1886, p. 565.) But see Becker and Göll, *Gallus* (Berlin, Calvary, 1882), Th. iii p. 216.

³ Bartolus Bartholinus, *de paenula*, cap. iv in I. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, Traj. ad Rhen. Halma, 1697, t. vi col. 1172.

⁴ W. C. F. Anderson, in Wm. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (3rd edition, Murray, 1891), sub voce *Paenula*, ii 309.

⁵ Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du Mobilier français* (Paris, Morel, 1872), t. iii p. 91.

Henri Leclercq for an article on the word *Chape*.¹ Thus it may be noticed that the ancient divided *paenula* has come to be recognized by French archaeologists as a progenitor of the cope. The cope and chasuble do touch each other at many points, and it is hardly safe to assert that they have nothing in common in origin or in use.

The exigencies of controversy have sometimes made it necessary stoutly to deny that any common origin be possible for the cope and the chasuble. It is asserted that the chasuble is strictly limited to the priesthood, while the cope may be worn by anyone. Such opinions may be favoured by the writers of the later Middle Ages and of the period at the beginning of the Reformation; but it must occur to almost everyone who has made a study of the outermost silken vestments of the early Middle Ages that there is a strong likelihood that the chasuble and the cope are both derived from the *paenula*: one from the closed *paenula*, the other from the divided *paenula*. Pater Braun, however, seems to think that the vestment formerly used where the cope is now worn was the chasuble; but in the Eleventh century the chasuble was divided down the front, and thus became a cope.² Or is there to be another explanation?—that the undivided *paenula* and the divided both had passed into the service of the Church, though perhaps the divided *paenula* did not make its appearance in miniatures and writers till after the millennium?

Pater Braun himself laments the paucity of the information given by the early prae-millennial ritualists touching the chasuble:

‘Die Liturgiker des 9. Jahrhunderts lassen uns über die Form der Planeta ganz im unklaren.

‘Genaueren Aufschluss über Schnitt und Form des Messgewandes erhalten wir erst seit Ausgang des 10. Jahrhunderts. Die Liturgiker wissen uns freilich auch jetzt nur wenig davon zu berichten.’³

¹ Fernand Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, Letouzey, 1913), t. iii 2^e partie, col. 365.

² Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung* (Freiburg im B. Herder, 1907), p. 317.

³ Joseph Braun, *op. cit.* p. 174.

If we really know so little of the shape of the chasuble in these early ages, can we be justified in building an hypothesis upon this imperfect information? So late as the Twelfth or Thirteenth centuries it may also be noticed that in some parts of the West, as in the Black Forest, there does not seem to be much distinction between the shape of the chasuble and the shape of the cope. It is not to be supposed that Dom Martin Gerbert, Abbot of St. Blaise, did not know the difference in shape between a chasuble and a cope. Yet in speaking of three ancient vestments preserved in his Abbey, of very considerable interest and of most interesting embroidery, he says :

Vestes effigiatæ.

‘XXVII. Missis his, ad singularem ornatum ac splendorem vestium, ut vocantur, effigiarum me converto, quales insignes sunt casulae duæ, una cum stola et manipulo: cappa item magna, quam vulgo pluviale vocant.’¹

In a note Gerbert gives a long description of the subjects of the embroidery of the three vestments, by means of which it is quite possible to identify them with the three vestments described in 1860 by Dr. Gustav Heider, at great length,² which he claims, as he has every right to claim, are those which Gerbert speaks of in his work.

Neither Dom Martin Gerbert nor Dr. Heider says anything of the shape of the vestments described. But they do more; they give representations of the vestments as laid out, on a flat surface. In both writers three are drawn of the same shape, a semicircle, and yet two are called chasubles (*Casula*) and one a cope (*Pluviale*). To the first of the two chasubles belong a stole and maniple, according to Dom Martin Gerbert. At the right-hand lower corner of the engraving of this semicircular chasuble, he also gives

¹ Martin Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, typ. San-Blasianis, 1786. Pars prima, p. 265, de vestibus sacris C. iii.

² Gustav Heider, *Liturgische Gewänder aus dem Stifte St. Blasien im Schwarzwalde, dermalen aufbewahrt im Stifte St. Paul in Kärnten*, Wien, 1860. Besonderer Abdruck: aus dem IV. Bande des Jahrbuches der K.K. Central Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale.

a reproduction of a priest vested in this chasuble.¹ This drawing bears a great resemblance to the appearance of a chasuble now preserved at Hildesheim, and exhibited on a frame or shape, which has a mitre on its head. But in this latter vestment it cannot be well made out that a seam runs down the front part, while in Gerbert's engraving such is quite easily to be seen.

What also seems worthy of note is that these cope-shaped chasubles have for part of their embroidery representations of chasubles as worn by bishops and other ecclesiastics, of the ordinary mediaeval shape, somewhat short perhaps, the fore part in several cases hardly reaching to the knees.² It does not seem a very rash inference that during the very time at which these cope-shaped chasubles were being worked there were two shapes of chasubles known in the West: one the ordinary Western shape, approaching to the circular, or oval; and the other of semicircular shape, which when it was worn at the altar had to be fastened up the front, but the sides were drawn up to the shoulders by means of cords or similar contrivances, so as to allow free action of the hands and arms, as Dr. Brightman says is the case to-day with the Russian chasuble.³

But it may be further objected to the opinion of Pater Braun that the mosaics of the Sixth century in the churches of Ravenna and elsewhere shew what cannot be mistaken for anything but the vestment which we call a cope.⁴ It has almost a sacrificial or sacerdotal connotation. For example, at St. Apollinaris *in Classe*, there is a setting forth of three kinds of sacrifices mentioned in the Old Testament: Abel on the left of the mosaic offers a lamb;

¹ Martin Gerbert, *op. cit.* pars tertia, tabula vi n. 1.

² See G. Heider, *op. cit.* Taf. iii B. Taf. iv, Taf. v B. Taf. viii, Taf. x C. and D.

³ See below, p. 136.

⁴ My notes on the mosaics in the churches at Ravenna are derived from personal observation, confirmed by photographs. The notes on the mosaics of St. Mary Major at Rome are drawn from G. B. de Rossi's *Mosaici cristiani . . . delle Chiese di Roma* (Roma, Spithoeve, no date, 1872?) My last visits to Rome and Ravenna were in April and May 1914.

Abraham on the right is ready to offer his son Isaac ; while in the centre, before the Holy Table, Melchisedech in cope and morse offers the unbloody sacrifice of bread and wine. In the Church of St. Vitalis the same subject is also represented, but the figures are limited to Abel and Melchisedech ; Melchisedech wears cope and morse, over a *tunica*, elevating a round loaf of bread while the cup remains on the Holy Table. One of the mosaics of St. Mary Major at Rome shews Melchisedech meeting the Kings and offering them bread and wine. He wears a cope and morse. In the mosaics of St. Apollinaris *nuovo* are shewn certain episodes in the life of our Lord. The Jewish high priest, to whom Judas is about to return the thirty pieces of silver, wears cope and morse ; also the high priest leading our Lord to Pilate who washes his hands ; each of the three high priests to whom our Lord is about to be given over wears cope and morse. In the first instances spoken of, the cope would seem to accompany a sacrificial act ; in those following to be worn by members of the Levitical sacrificing priesthood.

At Parenzo, also in a mosaic of the Sixth century, is a figure with a nimbus, but unnamed, wearing a cope and morse, and having a censer in his hand.

It will be acknowledged that the cope and morse as ecclesiastical ornaments were known as early as the Sixth century.

It may be useful to quote here the passage from Dr. Adrian Fortescue's work on the vestments, as both he and Pater Braun belong to a community where the dominant teaching is that the chasuble is the sacerdotal or sacrificial vestment,¹ and therefore ought not to be allied in

¹ In the ordination of Roman priests the bishop says to each one, as he puts the chasuble upon him, *Accipe vestem Sacerdotalem*. (See *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII*. Antverpiae, Plantin, 1765, p. 50.) To quote a dictum of Monseigneur X. Barbier de Montault (*Le Costume et les Usages ecclésiastiques selon la tradition romaine*, Paris, Letouzey, no date [? 1897] t. ii p. 77) ' La chasuble est le vêtement propre du prêtre, le seul avec lequel il puisse célébrer le saint sacrifice. D'où il est facile de déduire qu'on ne peut l'employer autrement, sinon dans les cas déterminés par le droit.'

a common origin with the cope, which any layman may wear.

'The cope (*cappa, pluviale*) is nothing but the old large chasuble divided in front, so as to be easier to put on, and then joined again by a clasp (the morse). . . . But the undivided *paenula*, as being the older form, was kept for more solemn functions, such as Mass. The divided *paenula* (our cope) took its place on less important occasions, and so began to be considered a separate vestment. . . . The Eastern rites still know no distinction between these two garments.'¹

This last remark of Dr. Fortescue's is quite in the spirit of one of the best French ritualists of the Eighteenth century, Pierre Le Brun, whom even Dom Prosper Guéranger is forced to praise as one of the later liturgical writers that France has produced worthy of the name; and that his knowledge equalled his orthodoxy.² Le Brun's rubric before the prayer at the vesting of the Armenian priest with the cope is :

'A la Chasuble en forme de Chape,'³

an admission that the so-called chasuble is only a cope. And I cannot forbear quoting a passage to much the same effect from another Roman Catholic clergyman, the Rev. William Lockhart. He is speaking of the ancient form of the chasuble :

'It had an opening in the centre to admit the head, and it hung down in graceful folds, like a mantle, reaching almost to the feet. In fact, it was, as we shall see, no less a *vestis talaris* than the cassock. The ancient chasuble, in fact, differed from the cope only in the latter being cut up the front, and being furnished with a cape, which originally could be drawn over the head, like the cowl of a monk.'⁴

¹ Adrian Fortescue, *The Vestments of the Roman Rite* (London, Catholic Truth Society, no date [1914]), p. 15 n. 1.

² Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques* (Le Mans et Paris, 1841), t. ii p. 544.

³ Pierre Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe* (Paris, Valade, 1778), t. v p. 75. Diss. x, Art. ix.

⁴ William Lockhart, *The Chasuble : its genuine form and size* (London, Burns and Oates, 1891), p. 10.

It may be observed that the hooded *paenula* is frequently seen ; it was for use in bad weather. The statements of Dr. Fortescue and Mr. Lockhart are in line with those of Dr. Brightman who defines the chasuble as

‘The super-vestment of priests; in form a semicircle of material put on like a Western cope and sewn up the front, thus enveloping the person and requiring to be drawn up over the arms to allow of action. The Greek chasuble is still in this form, slightly shortened in front, and provided with buttons etc., by means of which the front can be folded and held up so as to leave the arms free. . . . In Russia the front is generally cut out, leaving a fall of about nine inches from the neck. In all other Oriental rites the chasuble has been opened down the front and is only fastened on the breast, becoming in effect a Western cope.’¹

Dr. Brightman’s definition of the Eastern chasuble makes it indeed a cope : it is semicircular, like the Western cope ; and then, so that it shall envelop the whole person, the division in front of the chest is brought together, and the sides, which fall over the arms and shoulders of the celebrant, are hitched up to allow free action of the arms. The Eastern chasuble is in fact the old divided *paenula* of which something has been said in the foregoing lines. It will, I trust, now be acknowledged that the chasuble and cope are the same vestment.

In the scholarly *Report of the Five Bishops on the Ornaments of the Church and Ministers*, presented to the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation in 1908, it is perhaps asserted with too great emphasis that the parent of the cope is the *lacerna*.² It has been a pride to me to follow the main thesis of the Report that the Christian liturgical dress is :

‘simply the adaptation to religious use of the ordinary dress of

¹ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. i. Eastern Liturgies (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896), p. 592. For other references to the connexion of the cope with the chasuble, see J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (Longmans, 1914), p. 362 in ch. xii.

² *The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers*, 1908, No. 416. S.P.C.K., 1908, pp. 12, 13.

civil, and particularly of official, life in the Roman Empire in the first centuries of our era.' ¹

But in a matter of detail such as the origin of the cope it may be allowed us to differ from the statement of the bishops, without such an expression of opinion being thought disrespectful.

In Bartolus Bartholinus' valuable tract on the *paenula* there is also a representation of a non-Christian *paenula*, which is divided almost up to the neck, and the right portion of the garment is thrown over the shoulder to render more free the use of the right arm.² The *tunica* under the *paenula* is short, coming only to the knees, but it is girded and has wide sleeves. The portion of the *paenula* left in front of the upper chest can hardly be more than six inches in depth if we judge by the proportions of the rest of the figure. Göll has reproduced this figure from the Museum at the Vatican, and calls it a most decided representation.³

In the East to this day the vestment worn at the Holy Eucharist has much more kindred with this divided form of the *paenula* than with the undivided. Dr. Brightman's description of the Greek vestment is much more like this divided *paenula* than the chasuble of the West.⁴ And in Western miniatures may be seen vestments quite like the *paenula* of Bartolus Bartholinus, that is, not entirely divided up to the neck but still retaining a narrow strip of stuff joining both sides. Such may be seen in manuscripts at the British Museum: MSS Royal 1. D. x fo. 21 *b*; Tiberius A. iii fo. 117 *b*; Nero C. iv fo. 34. In Rome itself this kind of chasuble was seen, for it is depicted in an Eleventh-century fresco in the underground church of St. Clement as the dress of a bishop saying Mass.⁵

Between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500 the chasuble indeed

¹ *The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers*, § 1, Introduction.

² Bartolus Bartholinus, *op. cit.* col. 1170.

³ W. A. Becker and H. Göll, *Gallus* (Berlin, Calvary, 1882), Th. iii p. 216.

⁴ F. E. Brightman, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Joseph Wilpert, *Die Gewandung der Christen in den ersten Jahrhunderten* (Koeln, 1898), fig. 26.

undergoes a variety of changes, and our knowledge of the various shapes which it takes on in these thousand years is far from exhaustive. A fresh study should be made of the shape of the vestment throughout the West, and the results classified; for at present no age or country can claim predominance over others in the shape of its chasuble.

When the *paenula* passed into the service of the Christian Church and was taken over as a liturgical vestment, it did not become at once exclusively sacerdotal. In *Ordo Romanus Primus* it is still worn by the acolytes of the pontifical procession¹; and even at the present moment it is worn on certain fasting days by the deacon and sub-deacon at Mass, with the name of *planeta plicata*.² Thus its use is not confined to priests, or bishops, even to this day. And in Russia we are taught that there is a shortened form of the chasuble, still worn by readers, chanters, and acolytes: it is the first of the clerical vestments, just as in the West the surplice is the foundation-ornament of the clerical order. This shortened chasuble marks merely the introduction to Holy Orders, while the large full chasuble reaching to the feet is the mark of the perfection of the priesthood.³

How little doctrine can be attached to the use of the chasuble or any other kindred vestment may be gathered from its use in the Lutheran communities in Germany and Scandinavia. Pater Braun, as likely as any one to emphasize the sacerdotal or sacrificial import of the chasuble, remarks at the beginning of his notes on the Lutheran use of this vestment, that the vestment was not worn to encourage anything Catholic: 'Etwas spezifisch Katholisches war freilich das Zustutzen des Gewandes nicht'; and he tells us that in Denmark and Sweden the chasuble

¹ *Ordo Romanus Primus*, § 5, ed. Mabillon, *Musei Italici* t. ii (Lutet. Parisiorum, 1724) p. 6.

² *Missale Romanum*, Rubricae generales xix 6 (Desclée, 1911, p. xxix).

³ Michael Rajewsky, *Euchologion der Orthodox-Katholischen Kirche* (Wien, Zamarski, 1861), Th. i p. xxv. The editor is chaplain to the Russian Embassy in Vienna. The representation of the shortened chasuble given by this writer would seem to make it reach just to the elbows.

is still worn in protestant worship, and that even in Germany the alb and chasuble were in use up to the Eighteenth century, and the use of these vestments was only left off in 1810 at Nuremberg, and in the same century in Hanover and Saxony.¹ Daniel, the German ritualist, has a long note on the continued use of the alb and chasuble in German churches. The Kings of Prussia interfered to enjoin or forbid this use. Frederick William, the father of Frederick the Second, commonly called the Great, forbid the use of the chasuble; but Frederick himself, the freethinker, on becoming King, tried to restore it.² Had this only been known to those about the Emperor Joseph the Second, what a fine *tu quoque* there might have been to the gibe of 'my brother the sacristan.'

Before leaving the liturgical consideration of the *paenula* or chasuble, it may be worth while to draw attention to the large use made of the alb and chasuble in the mosaics of Ravenna, especially in those of St. Apollinaris *nuovo*. Scenes from gospel history represent a number of persons of secondary importance, who wear alb and chasuble; and in passing, it may be noted that nearly all shew the chasuble hitched up on the right shoulder, so as to give greater freedom to the right arm. Amongst persons wearing the alb and chasuble are the Pharisee and Publican; the two blind men who are healed by our Lord; and his companions going with Him on a journey, as to Emmaus, or presenting Him to the high priests. Our Lord is easily distinguished by the cruciform nimbus, but in no case does he wear alb and chasuble.

In the mosaics of St. Mary Major at Rome there are also two or three instances of albs and chasubles being worn by indifferent persons.³

It will, we may imagine, be owned on all sides that antiquities are much better understood now than at the

¹ Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung* (Freiburg im B. 1907), p. 197.

H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Lutheranae in epitomen redactus* (Lipsiae, Weigel, 1848), pp. 90-92, note.

³ G. B. de Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani*, St. Mary Major, numbers 11, 20.

end of the Middle Ages, and that the meaning and symbolism attributed to customs and ornaments in the popular estimation of the Middle Ages are not so surely established as that they may be insisted upon nowadays for acceptance by everybody. Because 'young Charbon the puritan and old Poysam the papist' were agreed in the interpretation of certain ceremonies, it does not therefore follow that their opinions are necessarily proved. Neither puritan nor papist was qualified to judge. It is not reasonable to-day to demand of those who have made so much fuller a study of antiquities, a blindfold acceptance of the opinions in vogue in the Sixteenth and some part of the Seventeenth centuries, which have been rejected by scholars ever since the beginning of the Eighteenth century.

Either chasuble or cope is a comely and decent vestment in which the higher offices of the Church may be performed for the greater dignity of the act of worship. But no doctrine is involved in the acceptance of the use of either. In the Church of England it is a mere matter of obedience to the law set out in the rubric preceding the Order for Morning Prayer, which enjoins a fitting and appropriate following of a custom which had existed in the Church for centuries.

If we are to accept the opinion that the chasuble is essentially a sacerdotal or sacrificial vestment because such has been the opinion in certain quarters in the West for near a thousand years, the next question that must certainly be met is: Where are we to stop in accepting opinions begun in the Middle Ages? Are we to be forced also to accept the mediaeval opinion that the Christian vestments are derived from the Jewish, and the liturgical colours from the Levitical? Or the fanciful teachings of Durandus and of St. Thomas of Aquinum on ceremonies and rites? And opinions of far greater importance than any connected with ceremonies or rites will have to be dealt with, if we have to receive as established the doctrines of the mediaeval writers, even when they are unanimously agreed.

J. WICKHAM LEGG.

ART. X.—OUR LORD'S VIEW OF THE FUTURE.

1. *Dogma, Fact and Experience.* By A. E. J. RAWLINSON, M.A., Student of Christ Church. (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1915.)
2. *The Teaching of Christ.* By E. GORDON SELWYN, M.A., Warden of Radley. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1915.)

ARE we guilty of misunderstanding our Lord and misinterpreting His words when we pray that His Kingdom may be *advanced* or when we speak of the Missionary as *extending* His Kingdom? Has the Psalmist a picture in his mind different from that of Jesus Christ when he says: 'Thy saints shew the glory of Thy Kingdom and talk of Thy power, that Thy power, Thy glory, and the mightiness of Thy Kingdom might be known unto men. Thy Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom and Thy dominion endureth throughout all ages'? Mr. Rawlinson and many other writers of to-day seem to think so. They are ready to follow Schweitzer so far, at all events, as to say that our Lord's idea of the Kingdom was apocalyptic, a Kingdom to be suddenly revealed from Heaven in the immediate future.

'The expectation of the earliest Christians was in a literal sense mistaken. Are we obliged to go further, and to say that their Lord was in a literal sense mistaken also? It is here, surely, that the storm-centre of theological speculation resides at the present moment. It is probable enough that this, and not the controversy about miracle, will be for the next generation the great difficulty of the Christian religion.'¹

That seems to me a very vital question, affecting our whole view of the person and nature of our Lord; and as Mr. Rawlinson thinks (though I do not agree with him)

that it is likely to be the storm-centre for the next generation, it may be worth while once again to consider the answer to it.

Mr. Rawlinson's answer to the question is given at the very end of his chapter on this subject ; and although he says that the answer is 'No' I venture to think that it comes much nearer to being 'Yes.' He says :

'I believe that if our Lord stood again visibly amongst us, as once He did in Galilee and Jerusalem, and if He were to be asked whether in what He said He had been wrong ("in a literal sense mistaken" was the question quoted above) He would answer "No." "My picture of the Future," He would say, "as it then was present to My mind has not been literally fulfilled. The generation to whom I spoke did not witness the full coming of the Kingdom, though they did see it come, in a certain sense, with power. That which has happened, that which is happening and will happen is the accomplishment, not of the letter, but of the spirit of My words. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away."'

I doubt if any of us feel that that is quite a satisfactory answer. The more we examine it the less convincing it becomes. For remember that the situation which it is intended to explain and justify is that created by the assumption that we are to take the apocalyptic words which the Evangelists put into our Lord's mouth literally, that He did foretell an advent in the clouds of Heaven before that generation had passed away, that He did count on a speedy end of the world and final judgement.

'That our Lord's own conception of His Messianic vocation and of the nature of the Kingdom of God was in its main emphasis eschatological, I for one cannot doubt. He was upon earth for the present as *Messias designatus*, but His immediate mission was not to be manifested as Messiah ; it was to fulfil the role of the Lord's Servant, not having where to lay His head, called upon to suffer and to die, and to give His life a ransom for many. The paradox of Messiahship consisted precisely in the fact that the very same person who was to do these things was also the claimant of the role of Son of Man, the apocalyptic Messiah who was

shortly to be revealed in glory as the judge of quick and dead, and the Lord of the coming Kingdom. Much of our Lord's language was doubtless consciously symbolical. The narrative of the Temptation, assuming it to be based ultimately upon an account given of His experience by the Lord Himself, is an illustration of this ; so is His saying on the occasion of the return of the Seventy—"I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from Heaven." And it is probable enough that language which was symbolically meant was sometimes realistically understood. But we cannot fairly explain away, by a theory of radical misunderstanding on the part of the disciples, the generally apocalyptic and eschatological atmosphere of the Gospels. The terms and phrases which our Lord is reported as having used, and the general system of ideas which went along with them, bore a defined and well-understood meaning at the time. It is evident that our Lord's words had the effect of conveying to His disciples' minds the impression that His coming in glory as Messiah upon the clouds of heaven was to be expected in the near future ; and indeed it is difficult to see what other impression they could have conveyed. If our Lord's meaning had been radically other than this, must we not suppose that He would have expressed Himself in terms less inevitably calculated to mislead ? It is true that He is represented as disclaiming exact prediction or detailed foreknowledge of times and seasons. But He is also definitely represented as teaching that the fulfilment of all these things was to be anticipated within the lifetime of the generation then existing.'

I find myself more and more dissatisfied with this theory. I do not, however, claim that there is any theory which is devoid of difficulty and proof against criticism. We have to face the fact at the outset that we are confronted with a long array of texts about the Kingdom, the Judgement, the Consummation of the Age, and the Son of Man, and that the defender of every theory is able to quote some of these in his support and has to explain away others that tell against him.

But there is one general consideration which I should like to dwell on for a moment before we come to particular texts. The consideration is this : In weighing the various theories we ought to give full weight to the evidence of subsequent history. The line of argument I should suggest

would be something of this sort : Christianity has had a profound and enduring effect ; it has changed the whole face of the world. Great effects imply great causes. The more wonderful is the transformation caused by Christianity, the more wonderful is its Founder, Jesus Christ. The more wonderful is Jesus Christ, the more we may believe that He was not the victim of a great mistake. And therefore we are on safest lines if we interpret doubtful or ambiguous words of His in the light of what actually followed. I do not say that this line of argument gives an absolute canon or criterion of truth, but I do say that any theory starts under grave suspicion which involves a serious disparity between the effect (as we see it in history) and the cause.

There are many theories to which this criticism does apply—which are suspect because of this grave defect. Mr. Gordon Selwyn in the first page of his introduction to the *Teaching of Christ* points this out with regard to Harnack's account of the Founder of Christianity.

‘If that were really what Christ had preached, then He was likely enough no more than the man, Jesus, whom Liberal Theology made Him out to be. Yet it was hard to see, if so, how anyone should ever have thought of Christianity as likely to “turn the world upside down” ; how any sinner could have found in it deliverance from his sins ; or any saint made it the moving power of his or her sanctification. There seemed a disparity here between cause and effect which was perplexing.’

Exactly the same objection applies to the opposite theory of Schweitzer and those who agree with him. It is true that Schweitzer delivers us from the liberal theologians who had reduced the figure of our Lord to that of a merely human prophet and moralist, and restores to it something of mystery and divinity. But it equally leaves us with an astonishing and unexplained disparity between cause and effect. The effect is Christianity and its world-wide, age-long transforming and revolutionizing power. The cause is one who laboured all his life under a prodigious and fundamental hallucination and died with a despairing confession of irreparable miscalculation. It would of course be absurd

to apply anything like such strong language to such a modified version of this theory as Mr. Rawlinson presents to us. But none the less it does not altogether escape this objection of the disparity between the cause and the effect. Let me point out a little more in detail what this effect was—what did happen in the subsequent history which is clear and undisputed.

From the very moment that our Lord's bodily presence is withdrawn we have the history of a society with a strong corporate consciousness. So strong is this sense of the importance of the corporate life that the very first act of the Apostles is to complete again the appointed number of twelve by the selection of Matthias to fill the place of Judas. Whatever else the happenings on the Day of Pentecost meant they clearly were understood to be the inauguration of this society. The first exhortation to the Jewish world is to join the society. And the picture presented to us is of an altogether new and unworldly corporation—a society which had but one heart and one soul and which had but one purse and lived a new life of constant and joyful communion with the Lord and fellowship with each other. One note of the society at the first was its confident expectation of the immediate return of the Lord, as we see from the early chapters of the Acts and the early letters of St. Paul. It is worth pausing here, however, for a moment to notice that there are indications even from the first (or almost from the first) that this expectation was not quite so central and essential a part of their preaching as we are sometimes led to believe. There are very strong reasons for thinking that the earliest of all St. Paul's letters is not, as generally supposed, the Epistle to the Thessalonians, but the Epistle to the Galatians. I must not go into those reasons now. And yet, in the Epistle to the Galatians, the return of the Lord is not (as I believe) once mentioned. But in any case we can clearly trace, in the letters of St. Paul, a steadily growing tendency to place less and less stress on the second advent, until, in the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians, he rises to a splendid vision of the Kingdom of God as something both in this world and the next, in

earth as well as in Heaven : St. Paul prays for his converts that :

' having the eyes of your heart enlightened, ye may know what is the hope of his calling, what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints and what the exceeding greatness of his power to usward who believe, according to that working of the strength of his might which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and made him to sit at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come : and he put all things in subjection under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.'

We are often told that it is not till the time of St. Augustine that the identification of the Kingdom with the Church takes place. But many words of St. Paul seem to imply it, as when he says that God has ' translated us into the Kingdom of His dear Son.'

And when we come to the Fourth Gospel we can trace this tendency still further developed. There, for the most part, the kingdom and eternal life are regarded as present realities, not as future prospects—the kingdom is that which those who are born again already see and those who are born of water and the Spirit already enter.

The transition to this higher conception of the present reign of Christ in His Church seems to have taken place gradually and naturally with no sudden break and indeed with little consciousness how great a change of *Weltanschauung* is implied in it. And broadly speaking, in spite of the otherworldliness of the Middle Ages with their hymns of ' Jerusalem the Golden ' and the like, it has been this conception of a present reign of Christ in His Church and in the hearts of His people that has been the secret of the power whereby the Gospel has transformed the world.

Now of course it is easy to say that this later view which we have found in some of the Epistles and in the Fourth Gospel is an invention of St. Paul, a perversion of the original

gospel, an attempt to escape from the charge that the promise had failed, and to meet the altered circumstances of a world that seemed likely to be indefinitely prolonged instead of being brought to a speedy end. But my point is that it is more reasonable to believe that so great an achievement as the Christian Church has not been built on a mistake, on a prediction which has failed, that we are more likely to be right in believing that the effect throws back new light on the cause; that what has actually happened is much more likely to be what the Founder meant, or in other words that the gradually developed and abiding consciousness of the Church is more likely to be in accordance with the Founder's plan and the Divine purpose than the first impressions of disciples who by their own repeated confession were very slow to grasp the fulness of their Master's astounding work.

No doubt it may be said, and no doubt it is true, that which of these two views we take depends a good deal on temperament and predisposition. On the one side there is no doubt a predisposition to believe so confidently in our Lord's unique character and wisdom as to feel sure that the course of the world has not been wholly contrary to His expectation. But it may equally be said I think on the other hand that the tendency which we have noticed of late among the present generation of scholars to take the apparently apocalyptic expressions of our Lord in the Gospels *au pied de la lettre* is also the result of a predisposition to lay somewhat one-sided emphasis on His Humanity with the limitations of knowledge and foresight which that Humanity is now held to imply.

But now, supposing for the moment that we provisionally and tentatively accept the theory that the belief which St. Paul formulated in the Epistle to the Ephesians and which the whole Church for eighteen centuries has settled down to is in accordance with what our Lord foresaw and intended, can we, in the first place, explain the misconception which, on this theory, certainly possessed the disciples in the first years of the Church; and secondly, can

we reconcile this view with the recorded words of our Lord without doing too great violence to the Gospels?

(1) Can we explain the mistake of the Apostles in expecting the immediate return of our Lord?

One great gain which we owe to the re-discovery of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature which fills the gap between the Old Testament and the New is that it furnishes a clue to the tone of mind which prevailed among the Jews of our Lord's time and which it is plain the disciples shared to the full. They certainly (and probably most of their fellow-countrymen) were eagerly and confidently expecting the final consummation which the Apocalyptic writers had been so constantly predicting and describing. The Gospels furnish abundant proof of this expectation both among the Jews in general and the disciples in particular. I need not now quote all the texts. It will be sufficient to remember the mention of those who were waiting for the Kingdom of God, for the consolation of Israel; those who thought the Kingdom should immediately appear. And as to the disciples we at once think of the request of James and John for the places on the right hand and on the left of the throne, of their question 'What shall be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the world?'—of the question just before the Ascension 'Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel?' This preconception as to the apocalyptic nature and imminence of the Kingdom was evidently deep-rooted and hard to remove. No doubt we are inclined to ask why did not our Lord make sure that this mistake, if it was a mistake, was corrected? That is the question Browning suggests in *Christmas Eve*:

'You urge Christ's followers' simplicity:
But how does shifting blame evade it?
Have wisdom's words no more felicity?
The stumbling-block, His speech—who laid it?'

And it goes further than this one matter of eschatology: it might equally be asked with regard to other recorded mistakes of the Apostles, which they themselves confessed and the Evangelists describe. They seem determined to

tell us how often they misunderstood—how often Jesus had to rebuke them—‘Are ye so without understanding?’ ‘Do ye not yet perceive neither understand?’ ‘O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I bear with you?’ ‘Do ye now believe?’ ‘O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe.’ And with regard to the announcements of our Lord as to His approaching death and resurrection we are amazed that they should have failed to understand, as they tell us they did, words which seem to leave no room for uncertainty.

It is plain then that they did again and again fail to grasp our Lord's true meaning and that they make no secret of the fact. And it is plain also from the later books of the New Testament that they recognized, in this matter of the return of the Lord, that they had mistaken their Master's words.

(2) And now we may come to our second question, which after all is the crux of the whole matter—the ‘storm-centre’ as Mr. Rawlinson calls it—*viz.* our Lord's own words, and this involves a detailed examination of many passages.

Instead of quoting the texts first and then proceeding to suggest what is the view in His own mind of the future which, taken as a whole (setting one against another and trying to estimate the general result), they suggest, I will venture to start with the impression which our Lord's life and teaching leave with us, and then see how that impression is confirmed by various utterances, and lastly consider what explanation is most reasonable of words which seem in conflict with this impression.

The central impression which the Gospels leave on us as to our Lord's thought is one of perfect and unbroken, trustful and loving communion with God—God is all in all, perfect goodness, perfect wisdom, perfect beauty, perfect love. The Kingdom of God is when and where that perfect wisdom, love and goodness prevail. He knows that Kingdom as the central reality in His own heart; for Him God reigns, and He longs to reveal His Kingdom to the world in a consummated life of perfect service, perfect surrender, a life which is a perfect expression of the perfect

Ideal. He is sure that as He imparts His own mind and spirit to others there the Kingdom will come in outward and visible form as well as in inward and spiritual experience.

At the outset, the Temptation discloses such an attitude of mind. God is man's life and food; man may not for a moment take his life out of God's hands; God only is the object of his worship and his love. That is the faith of which our Lord speaks so much—the faith which solves all the worries and fears and evils of life. This perfect rule of God in the heart and in the world is the true goal of life. It is the central thing to pray for—'seek first this Kingdom,' pray 'Thy kingdom come'; 'Ask and it shall be given, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened.'

To describe these spiritual facts our Lord finds current in the world and ready to His hand the religious phraseology of the Apocalyptic writers. These writers, I imagine, were much in vogue, their words were on everybody's lips, their thoughts in all minds. No doubt the ancient prophets retained their special authority, but the apocalyptic thought and language were the very air which that generation breathed. Our Lord found that language singularly fitted for His purpose, and He adopted it. The Kingdom of Heaven or the Kingdom of God was just what He came to proclaim and to establish. But He had from the first and continually to be giving the phrase a new and higher and fuller connotation. The Kingdom was not limited to a special time and place. It was universal, world-wide, present, if only the eyes were opened to see it. So we may give full weight to all those texts which represent the Kingdom as present: 'The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand'; 'To-day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears'; 'Be ye sure of this that the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you'; 'If I with the finger of God cast out devils no doubt the Kingdom of God is come upon you'; 'Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God'; 'Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God'; 'The Kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof' (implying that in some real sense it was theirs already); 'He that is least in the

Kingdom of Heaven is greater' than John the Baptist; 'The publicans and harlots go into the Kingdom of God before you.' There is no need, on this theory, to explain away all these present tenses, as Mr. Selwyn does by calling them proleptic or anticipatory—'covering' as he says 'those who by their readiness to listen and repent were . . . staking out for themselves a claim in the Kingdom which was to come.'

But there are in particular some texts which cannot be satisfactorily explained on any other hypothesis than that our Lord did believe and teach that, if our eyes were open, we could see God's Kingdom here and now. 'The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Lo here or Lo there, for behold the Kingdom of God is within (or among) you.' The Parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven are so clear in their teaching that we cannot but see the lesson that the Kingdom begins with a day of small things, that the progress is gradual, that, like leaven, it escapes men's notice, though all the while it is working potently. The only explanation of these parables which is given by our eschatological friends is that they teach that the Kingdom, whenever and wherever it comes, is not due to human effort—that it is a divine growth. But if that is all the meaning, why dwell on the contrast between the smallness of the seed and the greatness of the tree? The Parable of the Tares is very explicit. There are to be tares as well as wheat in the Kingdom. This surely cannot be true of any apocalyptic, other-worldly Kingdom. And moreover the parable explicitly distinguishes between the present kingdom and the end of the world. Then, at the end, the angels who are the reapers 'shall gather out of His Kingdom all that offend.' It is possible then to believe that the Kingdom is already present in this world and yet to believe in a final consummation and judgement. And when Mr. Rawlinson argues that to hold the belief in a present kingdom implies a disbelief in the statement of the Creed that 'He shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead,' we point, by way of answer, to the Parable of the Tares, as reconciling the belief in a Kingdom of God in this world (and therefore

imperfect) and a further sifting—a final judgement—when there shall be gathered out of the Kingdom all that offend.

But a passage which always seems to me the most convincing of all (and which I do not find that those who hold the apocalyptic view mention) is the Parable of the Great Supper. Our Lord was the guest at the house of a Pharisee. He had been giving homely advice, first about humility and secondly about true hospitality. (And here may I interpose in passing that this seems to me another indication that our Lord had always in mind the contrast between the Kingdom of God, not as an apocalyptic Kingdom but as a new and heavenly society in this world, and the worldly society which He saw around Him? The world does this or that—the Kings of the Gentiles have many servants—the world invites the rich from motives of worldly interest—but ‘so shall it not be among you.’) On this occasion one of the guests was evidently uncomfortable. If he had been a modern Churchman he would have said that this teaching was socialistic. What he did was to seize upon the allusion of our Lord to the Resurrection of the just to divert the conversation into a more edifying channel.

The phrase at once suggested the language of the Apocalyptic writers. And having in mind their predictions of a Messianic feast he said, with a certain pious unction, as I imagine, ‘Ah! Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God.’ What is our Lord’s answer? It is the Parable of the Great Supper, the moral of which is ‘All things are now ready and you begin with one consent to make excuse’—the Kingdom which I proclaim is the new life of brotherhood and love in the Father’s House—the life of love for the poor and the maimed and the halt and the blind, and you will not have it.

But we must come to those passages of Scripture which plainly do point to the future—to a Kingdom yet to come. I think it is plain that while the Kingdom is already a present reality to our Lord Himself—dwelling as He did in unbroken communion with God—and to those whose eyes were opening to the same spiritual world in which

He continually dwelt, nevertheless He was conscious that there was more to come—that He could not reveal to the world the vision of a perfect life of absolute union with God until He had sealed that life by the death which made the surrender complete—that He could only open the Kingdom of heaven to all believers when He had overcome the sharpness of death. And accordingly as He approaches Calvary His confidence in the imminence of the Kingdom increases, and the disciples catch the prophetic vision and ask for the places near the throne.

This certainty that His death will usher in the new life reaches a climax when at His trial the High Priest asks if He is the Christ and He replies, according to St. Luke's rendering of the words, 'From this very hour there shall be the Son of Man seated on the right hand of the power of God,' and in the same assurance of an immediate Kingdom He replies to the request of the dying thief, 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom,' 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.'

And here we may quote the Fourth Gospel, not by way of proof but by way of confirmation. He sees in the visit of the Greeks the signs of that liberation of His redeeming love, that opening of the gates of the Kingdom which only His death could accomplish, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die it abideth by itself alone; but if it die it beareth much fruit. . . . Now is the judgement of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself.'

Our Lord then did regard His death as the turning point—the opening of the Kingdom—but not His death alone, but that which was always associated with it in His prediction, *viz.* His resurrection and the outpouring of His Spirit. Such an expectation will explain many of the texts which are generally quoted as proofs of an apocalyptic expectation, such as 'This generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled'; 'There be some here who shall not taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God come with power.'

There remains, however, still a small—a very small—

residuum of texts that are not easy to fit in with this theory, especially some words in what is called the 'Little Apocalypse' (St. Matt. xxiv, St. Mark xiii).

Two explanations may be offered of those words. There is first what has been called the foreshortening of history in our Lord's outlook—that He passes in mind swiftly from such immediate comings of the Kingdom as took place at His death and at Pentecost and perhaps at the fall of Jerusalem to the final consummation at the end of the world. And the other is that the disciples' admitted misunderstanding of His words has given a slightly more apocalyptic colouring to their report of our Lord's sayings than they had as they fell from His lips.

This is so important a question that we must dwell on it for a moment or two. It is an objection to many schools of thought that their view demands the sacrifice of certain texts. As in certain games of cards it is necessary that there should be allowed to the players what is called a rubbish heap, so more or less all theories have to consign certain difficult texts to the scrap heap. Schweitzer, who condemns the Liberal Theologians for doing this, does it a good deal himself. Mr. Rawlinson has to do it in the case of the Tares. But we who question one or two texts which have a strongly apocalyptic colour stand in a different position. First we know that the disciples had at first a deeply rooted apocalyptic prepossession. They tell us so themselves and they record our Lord's corrections of that view. That prepossession was to some extent due to the very same causes that originally produced the apocalyptic literature of Israel. The older prophets had drawn glowing pictures of a Kingdom of God on earth with Jerusalem as its centre. That glowing picture seemed gradually to fade away. The return from the Captivity was a disillusion and a disappointment. Then came all the horrors of the time of Antiochus and the sufferings of the Maccabees, until men came to feel that this earth was hopeless, that no human power was strong enough to overthrow its tyrannies and cruelties, and that therefore God Himself must intervene to bring

the present world to an end, to vindicate His own elect: In the same way I venture to suggest that it was just the apostles' humility and consciousness of weakness in the face of the giant powers of evil that made the idea of an earthly Kingdom of God of which they were to be the builders seem so impossible and made them feel that only the return of their Lord in the clouds of heaven could accomplish such a task. 'Who are we,' they might well say, 'that we should bring in a kingdom of heaven?' It was only by degrees, as they began to discover in actual experience the resources of the Spirit which were theirs and the power of the Church to move the world, that the real meaning of our Lord began to dawn on them in all its fulness, and that their courage and faith rose to the heights which we have seen in the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Gospel of St. John.

But we have another strong justification for thinking that the prepossession of the first disciples had something to do with the exact colour given to certain words of our Lord. For by comparing the Gospels we can actually see this process at work. One Gospel reports our Lord as saying 'From this very moment there shall be a Son of Man seated at the right hand of power'; another gives us the same saying in a slightly different and much more apocalyptic colouring: 'Henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven.' St. Mark records the words just before the Transfiguration: 'There be some standing here which shall in no wise taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God come with power'—a statement which is quite consistent with our belief that the Kingdom did begin in sober fact at Pentecost and has been manifested through the Church in the lives of the saints. But St. Matthew records the words in a form which makes this application of them not indeed impossible but slightly more difficult, *viz.* 'There be some standing here which shall in nowise taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom.' It is then no daring and sacrilegious conjecture that some of the words imputed to our Lord in the Gospel

are not exactly as He spoke them but have received a certain colour by passing through the minds of the reporters. It is a fact which we must recognize. Both reports cannot be right. We may legitimately use our judgement as to which version is more likely to be the original. I should be prepared therefore to accept, if necessary, the possibility that some of the expressions in the 'Little Apocalypse' are due to the same diffracting medium through which they have passed from Christ to us.

But further I think we must remember the tendency of Eastern minds to employ the language of vivid allegory. He who spoke of the defeat of evil as 'I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven' might well speak of the establishment of the heavenly Kingdom on earth by the outpouring of the Spirit of God as 'the Son of Man coming in the clouds'—or as 'the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit upon the throne.'

One more point about this apocalyptic prepossession. It gives three-fold weight to passages which tell in the opposite direction. They could not have been invented by those whose tendency was to conceive the Kingdom of Heaven apocalyptically.

Finally I should like to say that it is quite unfair to argue that this view of our Lord's words substitutes a mere process of human evolution for a Divine City of God coming down from heaven. On the contrary it magnifies and emphasizes the supernatural character of the Church of Christ. It believes that it is the witness to the present reality of the Kingdom of God because our Lord by His Spirit dwells with men and that therefore it is possible for them to live as their Master lived in such close communion with God and in such perfect love and loyalty to His holy will as to realize His kingship as a present reality and to know that it is His good pleasure to give them the kingdom. And there is no inconsistency between so sublime a faith and a consciousness that both in themselves and in the world there is still so much of disloyalty that they ever need to pray 'Thy Kingdom come.'

A. HAMILTON BAYNES.

ART. XI.—THE WAR : THE TASK BEFORE US.

1. *The Way to Victory*. A Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford, February 26, 1916. By SPENSER WILKINSON, Chichele Professor of Military History, Fellow of All Souls' College. (London : Constable and Co. 1916.)
2. *The Times*. Wednesday, March 22, 1916. 'Story of Verdun Battle. Official Account of the First Phase.'
3. *Aircraft in War and Peace*. By WILLIAM A. ROBSON. (London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1916.)
4. *Leaves from a Field Note-Book*. By J. H. MORGAN. (London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1916.)
5. *The Heart of Europe*. By RALPH ADAMS CRANE, Litt.D. Illustrated. (London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1916.)
6. *Ordeal by Battle*. By F. S. OLIVER. Abridged Edition. (London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1916.)

FOR the last month we have been reading day by day the account of the great contest at Verdun. We have been astounded at the determination and courage of the attack, at the equally determined and brave defence. We have been appalled at the tremendous loss of life. We have been bewildered at the aims and accomplishments of the Germans. And perhaps some of us may have asked the question : What does all this portend with regard to the future ? The resistance of the French, so far successful, to such an attack, the most terrible that has been made during the war, one in which the expenditure of ammunition and life has been unequalled, has naturally raised a feeling of hope and even buoyancy in people's minds. It has created indeed a certain amount of shallow optimism. People are beginning to talk as if the war would soon be over. We are told that 70 per cent. has to be paid for insurance against

peace before the end of the year. It is thought that there is an easy task before us ; as if the victory was almost won. It is desirable that we should be rid of any such shallow ideas as to what is likely to happen, or as to the task that still remains for us to accomplish. It is true that the defence of Verdun, successful so far and, we may hope, finally successful, is a tremendous feat, and that it may make a future offensive on the part of the Germans very difficult. But do not let us deceive ourselves. It does not mean that our task has become easy.

For what lies before us ? It is necessary, if we are to be successful in this war, that we ourselves should pass from the defensive to the offensive. And what does the lesson of Verdun teach ? It teaches that an offensive carried out with a prodigal squandering of men, with an enormous force of artillery—over 2500 heavy guns, we are told, were used and 50,000 shells fired upon a small spot within a few hours—it teaches that even an offensive like that has not been able to succeed. Do we think that, when our turn comes for making an attack, the task will be an easy one ?

For what lies before us ? We have to be prepared to break through the German line at some place or other—to break through with such force and in such numbers that we threaten their communications and compel the whole of the line to fall back. If we do that we shall then have to fight, in all probability, a great pitched battle, and even then there are many lines already fortified which may resist our advance.

It is true, probably, that we are reaching a definite stage in the war. Up to the present time we have had to fight often with very inferior numbers, often with inadequate supplies of munitions and arms. Now the disparity, on probably all the Fronts, has definitely ceased. We have at last adequate forces and, as we believe, an adequate supply of munitions. The time has come when we may expect to attempt an advance. But that must not hide from us the fact that the task we have to accomplish is a very severe one.

Let us now review the various fields of fighting, and see what we have to do. And first, the war in the air. This has been brought prominently before us in a controversial way by the remarkable success of an entirely unofficial candidate in East Herts. It was on the proper organization and equipment of the air service that that contest was fought, and the unofficial candidate, fighting against an opponent supported by the whole of the Conservative and Liberal organizations, was successful by more than a thousand votes. There were, of course, as is well known, special circumstances in the constituency which may not at present be particularized, which helped in that success ; but at the same time the event is a striking one, and it would be foolish for anyone to deny its significance. It is certainly extremely foolish for certain newspapers, which seem to have a singular incapacity for understanding the feeling in the country, to try to delude themselves with the idea that the success of Mr. Pemberton Billing was owing to the defection of Conservative voters who disapproved of the 'drink policy' of the Government. Let us therefore review the situation with regard to the control of the air.

It is well known that here, as in many directions, our Government failed to make proper preparations. It took an enormous amount of pressure on the part of those who were interested to induce the Government to prepare even in a limited way for the military use of aircraft ; and we ought to express our gratitude to those who were so insistent. There are many remarkable things one comes across ; one of the most remarkable certainly is the way in which this matter has been treated. We all remember how persistently the *Daily Mail* put the question of the air service of the country before its readers. We all remember how Lord Northcliffe himself did everything which he personally could to try to make the country take these new developments seriously. It might have been thought that some gratitude should be expressed for this. We hold no brief for Lord Northcliffe, nor for the *Daily Mail*, and there are many things that both have done which we might be inclined

to criticize ; but it certainly seems to the ordinary reader somewhat remarkable that the only return the Liberal newspapers were prepared to make for the foresight displayed was to heap new insults and contempt on Lord Northcliffe's head. We could read in the *Westminster Gazette* what silly things Zeppelins were, and how stupid it was to bother about them. When it has been discovered that however silly and stupid they may be they are able to inflict a serious loss of life and property on the people of this country, the least we could expect would be some confession. All that we get is continuous attacks upon those persons who were more far-seeing than they were themselves because they demand immediate and effective action. However, let us pass from controversy.

At the beginning of the war we were scantily supplied with aeroplanes, but our deficiencies in number were made up for by the extraordinary skill of our pilots. In the retreat from Mons the value of an air service in war was revealed, and it is probable that the knowledge thus obtained saved our army from a much more serious disaster. For a long time we held the undoubted command of the air and, as is usual with us, we took no steps to improve matters. We acquiesced until Germany has been able to produce a larger number of new and more powerful aeroplanes, and since then our position has been far less secure. Somewhat tardily, we are devoting more attention to the building of aeroplanes and the development of the service.

There are several questions—the provision of aeroplanes of adequate power, in particular the provision of sufficiently powerful engines, the question of the anti-aircraft service, and the provision of air-ships lighter than air. It is maintained that for such a new and varied programme much independent initiative is required, and it is suggested that we should have a new Ministry of the Air. That has been maintained by Lord Montagu—another man whose words are justified by his foresight—in an able speech in the House of Lords ; and it is difficult to understand why such a new departure should not be made. It must be recognized

that as long as aircraft merely has a subordinate place in two ministries, as long as it has to struggle for existence among a large number of other old-established interests, as long as it has old-fashioned officials to obstruct, so long there will not be the proper interest given to its development. Imagine what a Navy would be which was a mere department of the War Office. So far from an increase in Ministries implying an increase of bureaucratic influence, it means a decrease. In those enormous barracks with their thousands of clerks personal initiative may easily be lost. Division, with a new responsible head, would introduce once more the personal element.

And this is all the more important if we allow our imagination to think what the future of aircraft will be. So far it has played a subordinate part. But what will it do in the future? What will it do when air-ships and aeroplanes are created by the hundred and the thousand?

‘It is not easy to realize,’ we read in a new book on aircraft, ‘what real fighting in the air means; that is to say, a battle, not between two or three aeroplanes, but between two or three hundred or between two or three thousand. In the domain of the air there are no geographical advantages, no mountains, rivers, valleys, cliffs, woods, towns, fortresses or railways; no boundaries, fortifications, frontiers or limitations. No retreat is possible, and no escape, between well-matched aircraft. In the future, we can see from this present War, the force that conquers the upper air conquers all beneath it. And although there will always be a land army, it will be as auxiliary to the air force, as is the flying corps to the land army to-day; for the great battles, with their consequent results and issues, will take place in the air.’

The whole subject is far more serious than the Government will admit. Almost daily now we read of an English airplane brought down by the enemy. The statement made in the House of Commons that our machines are inferior is true. The Treasury has been exercising its baneful effect and will not provide adequate sums. There is no one who specially represents the Air Service and so it suffers. Directly after the Hertfordshire election, the Government

began to find out that something might be done and started air raids with a military purpose. It is curious they did not find out before. This tardy action is a confession of failure and illustrates the point on which we have insisted so often; that there has been a great want of initiative. The real fact is we have not enough airplanes for our work. In the raid on Zeebrugge out of sixty-five machines we are said to have provided only twelve. We only sent five to Schleswig. We have made very slight efforts to provide a fleet of Zeppelins to meet those of the enemy. And we cannot prevent them from careering over the country night after night. Nor do we know what Zeppelins may not be able to do to help a fleet by their wider range of vision. 'Nothing can oppose a fleet at sea but another fleet. Nothing can oppose an army on land but another army. Must we not add that nothing can oppose a fleet in the air but another fleet in the air?' So Professor Spenser Wilkinson writes, and he asks pertinently :

'When shall we have a Minister capable of learning about war and of trying to get to know the truth and telling it? . . . Unless the Government shew signs of learning ought we not to exert ourselves to find Ministers who can learn to conduct a war and how to lead a nation?'

It is of the greatest importance, with a view to the future, that so soon as possible our air service should be placed on a very different basis from what it is on at present.

We pass to our Fleet. Here, so far as it is possible to judge, we have justification for confidence. The Admiralty have been exposed to the tremendous ordeal of the new submarine war. The menace of the submarine to our commerce was certainly at one time very serious. Of what has happened we have no official intimation. But so far as it is possible to judge from the information before us, in spite of the continued demands on the part of the Germans for ruthlessness, in spite of their continual reiteration of the fact that our commerce is being steadily ruined, the number of ships of our commercial fleet which are sunk by submarines is far fewer, so it appears, than it

was, and bears a very small proportion to the whole number of our mercantile marine. And only recently, curiously coinciding with the report of the renewed activity, comes the information that the price of corn has suddenly dropped. Meanwhile, the submarine war seems to be carried on chiefly with neutrals. It is difficult to conceive what benefit could be conferred upon Germany by sinking a Dutch ship going to the Argentines, part of whose freight was, we believe, German securities, and many of whose passengers were Germans.

What will be the ultimate development of the submarine it is impossible to say. It is conceivable that it will be very great in the future. At present, so far as we can judge, both in attack and defence our Admiralty are equal to the situation. But do not let us forget what a tremendous strain the continued watchfulness along all our coasts, and the continued watchfulness on every ship sailing in the neighbourhood of these islands, must imply.

More serious in some ways than the submarine is the danger of mines. It is difficult to see how any watchfulness, any skill in navigation, can protect ships against mines which are scattered recklessly all over the sea ; which may be detached by storms and drift to unexpected places ; which are being laid now, it is reported, by submarines. When there are two nations fighting at sea, when the one is entirely cut off from the use of it and the other is using it, it is quite clear that the mines must act very much in favour of the inferior fleet. But if once the German Navy was to make for the open sea, it would be exposed to exactly the same dangers as ours is ; and it has been suggested that very shortly there will be no room in the North Sea for a naval engagement at all.

Meanwhile, again, for keeping the routes of commerce open, for preserving the track for our war-ships, what a debt we owe to the continuous, hazardous labour of the mine-sweepers, who, indifferent to the weather, indifferent to the danger, have for the last year and a half kept the routes of commerce round our islands free !

Again, it is difficult to speculate about the future ;

but it may be suggested that it ought not to be beyond the wit of man to be able to devise some form of protection which, at whatever loss of speed and mobility, might enable both merchant ships and men-of-war to go in safety through a mine-field. It is stated that if a mine be exploded six or eight feet from a ship, it will be, comparatively speaking, ineffective, and it surely ought not to be impossible to secure that this might be done.

And then our Fleet. Unfortunately this has been made the field of political and personal antagonism, and it is difficult for the ordinary observer to understand what has been behind the attacks which have been made in certain organs of the Press on the First Lord of the Admiralty, the continued advertisement of Lord Fisher, and the unsatisfactory if dramatic appearance of Colonel Churchill in the House. As regards the last, might it not be well to ascribe his speech and his action largely to a feeling of chivalry? It is always best, and probably truest, to ascribe the highest motives for action unless we have evidence to the contrary. And is it not reasonable to believe that Colonel Churchill, remembering that it was through him that the country had been deprived of the services of Lord Fisher, being convinced of the value of his services to the nation, and remembering also that the point on which they parted company was one on which Lord Fisher had been proved right and he had been proved wrong, may have been anxious to do all that was in his power to remedy what he found to be a serious mistake?

But is there any reason for having want of confidence in the Navy? There are, of course, some elements of uncertainty. The war has now been continued for a year and a half, and during that period we have had absolutely no published evidence of any description as to what Germany has been doing. We know that we are dealing with a people of great inventive skill, of tremendous determination, who will leave nothing undone to achieve victory in this war, who are prepared to sacrifice everything to make their Fleet powerful and effective; and naturally we ask: Have they not been building ships of which we know nothing,

been carrying out new inventions of which we have never heard ? The one thing they would do would be to conceal anything they were about, to prevent us from imitating them. This is quite a natural and legitimate question to ask ; but we can have no doubt at all that the Admiralty have information which will enable them to judge better than we can. We see no signs of slackness, no want of inventive skill, on the part of our naval experts. As Mr. Balfour said, war must always be an uncertain thing. We cannot tell what may be the result of a great naval battle. So long as the German Fleet is in being, it is and must remain a real menace to us. We must be prepared for serious losses and misfortunes if it were to come out ; but so far as we can judge our Admiralty has done everything that it can. There is no evidence to make anyone think that a change of *personnel* is necessary or desirable. We must recognize the uncertainty of the issues of battle. We know how serious are the issues at stake, and we know that the Admiralty know it as well.

And now to the land war. There are two issues before us. The one is, what we may call the clearing up of the ' side-shows ' ; the other is the winning of a final victory over the German army. Both, of course, are necessary, but there is this difference between them. We might win all the side-shows, and yet our victory would be almost entirely useless if we were to fail in the central attack. In a sense, Germany becomes stronger by the defeat of its allies. There is no doubt that the complete defeat of the Austrian armies at the beginning of the war strengthened very considerably the power of Germany. Now Turkey, Bulgaria, Austria are all absolutely dependent, as regards their future, upon Germany, and though it be to our advantage to defeat them and get them out of the way if we can, yet the defeat of them is not a defeat of Germany, and a partial defeat of them, by throwing their forces more and more into the hands of Germany, even strengthens its position.

The war in the Cameroons is now finished. We may hope that at last adequate forces have been supplied to carry on the war in East Africa, and that that will be brought

to a successful issue. How long it will take must be a matter of considerable speculation. We must remember that the area is enormous, the means of transit are small, that we have to deal with a large body of armed native troops, and that our soldiers are fighting amid circumstances to which they are quite new, whether they be the South African or the British. But we cannot doubt that German East Africa is now attacked and surrounded on every side, and if that campaign were to finish, one more of our side-shows would be satisfactorily carried out.

Egypt seems now free from menace. It is most improbable that any attack will ever be possible now on the Suez Canal. It is very doubtful whether it would ever have been possible. At any rate now, somewhat late, it is true, very adequate fortifications not only along the line of the Canal, but stretching far into the desert, have been erected, and there are more than adequate troops for defending the frontier of Egypt. On the other side, on the western front, in spite of a certain amount of ineffective action at first, the menace from the Senussi seems to be overcome. It will not be safe, of course, to leave Egypt without a considerable body of troops ; but it may reasonably be expected that some of the large forces there will be removed to other fronts.

In spite of the successful advance of the Russians, the position in Mesopotamia is still serious. We are suffering from one of the serious errors committed early in the war. It is difficult to conceive under what advice or at whose suggestion it was decided to send a force consisting of little more than a single division on a campaign two hundred miles and more up the Tigris against Turkish troops led and equipped by Germans. This habit of tempting Providence by beginning a campaign with quite inadequate forces leads to a further disadvantage. It ties up and hampers our freedom of action. It shews the enemy exactly where an attack is to be expected. It enables them to entrench their position, and in this case it has led to the whole of our movements being controlled by the necessity of relieving the British force at present besieged in the

heart of Mesopotamia. It is well known how formidable opponents Turks are, especially for defensive warfare. We have only to remember the story of Plevna and the mass of Russian troops which were required to reduce that fortress. In order to relieve General Townshend's column, it is necessary for us to attack the Turks in a strong entrenched position, and we are deprived of freedom of movement by the difficulty of acting far from the river. It may be hoped that reinforcements will soon strengthen our forces, and the advance of the Russians on the Turkish line of communication will enable us to extricate the army that is being besieged, and to take our part in the advance against Turkey.

At Salonika we are again paying the penalty for want of foresight, and for the inadequate forces which we had earlier in the war. It is known now how precarious was the position of the French and English forces on the Serbian frontier. With only 100,000 men they were attacked by a Bulgarian army of nearly 300,000, and the Bulgarians, it must be remembered, are troops that cannot be despised. With great difficulty we escaped; the position is now, probably, free from danger. We have a strong line of defence round Salonika and at the base of the Chalcidice Peninsula, and large forces assembled. But again the inevitable delay has doubled the difficulty of our task. While we have been entrenching ourselves at Salonika, the Bulgarian army has been entrenching itself on the Serbian frontier. Part of the task before us undoubtedly is to rescue Serbia, which has suffered so much from the hands of the enemy, and to do certain other incidental and necessary things. That task will undoubtedly be a hard one. It will demand a great deal of serious fighting, unless other causes intervene and prevent the Bulgarians from approaching us with all their force, and recall the Austrian and German forces to another sphere.

And finally there is the main attack.

So far as information comes to us the Russian army is in a very different state from what it was. It is an extraordinary testimony to the courage, the valour and the

faith of the Russian people that they were able to bear their very serious reverses of last year without any diminution of their ardour, their fidelity or their confidence. So far as we know, we can absolutely trust the Russians. They have now very large bodies of troops adequately armed. They have many more men preparing to take their places, and their deficiency in equipment and in munitions is very largely made up. How soon they will be ready for a great offensive is not, of course, known. But that they have now a formidable army and artillery very different from what they had a year ago is undoubted. The whole history of their retreat and of their failure in munitions still remains to be written. It is quite certain that we do not know everything, and a defect which was temporary and accidental has largely been made up.

What our Allies of the western front are equal to, the events of the last month have revealed. They have revealed their skill in generalship, the splendid tenacity of their soldiers, and their tremendous supplies of munitions. Both on the east and on the west, so far as we can judge, we are now prepared. We have never been so before. But do not let us under-estimate the task before us. The long delay—a delay which may be still more prolonged before any combined offensive is possible—has given the Germans time to perfect their defensive works all along the frontier. Along the sea-board, and from the Dutch frontier right up to the borders of Switzerland, we have a tremendous defensive position to attack. There are other defensive positions behind; and though our numbers are now probably greater than those of our opponents, yet neither on the east nor on the west is our work likely to be easy.

Our purpose in this review has been to try to estimate justly the situation. In everything that we have written during the last year and a half, our aim has been, not to foster any pessimism, not to suggest any undue despondency, but to keep steadily before us the very great task that we have in hand. We can write now with somewhat greater confidence. But it is equally necessary not to under-estimate our work. We know how uncertain are

the chances of war. We know how what seem to be accidents will largely change the result of a contest. Our generals and commanders have in many cases failed us in the past, and have not yet been exposed to the full test of what we require. The large bodies of newly trained men are gradually being transformed into an army. But when we remember how little the bravest and best-trained German troops have been able to accomplish against French defensive positions, how great and serious have been their losses, and how little result they have got for those losses, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that the task before us is one which will try the whole fortitude of our troops and of the nation. We must be prepared to bear great losses in the future if we are to be victorious, and our commanders at the front must not feel that they are hampered by [any want of courage in the nation at home.

In the able lecture of Professor Spenser Wilkinson that we have placed at the head of our article an attempt is made to lay down some of the conditions necessary for victory.

The first requisite is to direct a strong blow at the vital point of the enemy's position :

'Take the typical case of a war to a finish ; the case when a State is fighting for its existence, when the object must be to overthrow the adversary and dictate to him the conditions of peace. Upon what principles will the leader frame his plan of campaign ? What will he do by way of observing Napoleon's precept of making war in accordance with the examples of the great commanders ? He will endeavour as far as possible to concentrate his action in time and space. He will try to discover the direction in which a great blow will upset the enemy, and he will deliver that blow with the greatest force that he can possibly collect for it. That will be his main action, and if any subordinate actions are indispensable, he will devote to them the least possible force, so as to keep as much as he can for his main action. And he will do all that he does as quickly as possible.'

This is what the Germans are aiming at doing at Verdun. They have selected that place because they believe that a

successful blow delivered there might be decisive. They have employed as much force as they could with safety. They have timed their assault to take place before the general offensive of the Allies, which cannot come as a combined effort until the snows have melted in Russia. After their direct assaults had failed, they have now started an encircling movement, and hope by an attack on the flank to cut off the line of retreat. So far this attack, made with great pertinacity, has failed in its object. But the menace is still formidable. If it fails completely it will place the Allies in a strong position, and it will be for them to shew that they have the strategical skill to strike a decisive blow at the enemy.

A second requisite is a right spirit in the people :

‘The extreme energy of war is developed when a whole people rushes to arms. That is not possible except when the mass of the people is deeply stirred by the emotions which produce the conflict. If and when that happens, the forces set in motion will be immense ; those brought into play by the adversary may be expected to be of the same kind, and there will be no conventional limit to the mode of their employment. Thus a very great development of force implies a purpose that appeals to a whole community, and such a purpose, sooner or later, brings about a corresponding grandeur in the ideas which inspire the plans of operation. It is when a whole nation throws itself into a war that the conception of overthrowing the enemy by the destruction of his forces must be expected to assert itself.’

We believe that the requisite spirit is there. Russia—Tsar and people alike—is inspired with a deep religious fervour. Of France we are told that the *moral* of its army is magnificent, and the spirit of the people indestructible. Let us see that our own capacity of self-sacrifice and determination and patriotism is no less.

A third requisite is that the forces of our Empire should be directed by ‘a mind formed in the theory of war.’ ‘What is wanted is simply a man who has learned the craft of a strategist and is competent in it.’ This has been attained. A man with the right training and, so far as it is possible to judge, with the right qualifications has been placed at the

head of the General Staff, and an Order in Council has been issued defining his duties: 'The chief of the Imperial General Staff shall be responsible for issuing the orders of the Government in regard to Military operations.'

A fourth point is, that as the conduct of the war is necessarily in the hands of the Government of the country, as it would be absurd to create a military dictator unless we are certain that we have a man competent for the position, we have to recognize that 'as long as there is a Prime Minister, he will be the director of England's action in war.' He must be responsible, and that responsibility must be recognized. The duties of the Cabinet are consultative, the duties of the ministers individually are departmental; it is the Prime Minister alone that can direct the whole force of the nation. He therefore must directly and personally be brought into connexion with the head of the General Staff. Now we have no doubt that this is theoretically right.

'Common sense suggests, therefore, that the strategist should be brought into direct personal contact with the Prime Minister. The object is that the Prime Minister should see with the strategist's eye, think his thoughts, and make his resolves his own.'

This sounds very well, but is it altogether practical? An English Prime Minister is not usually chosen because he is the ablest man to govern the country, but because he is the most successful party leader. That Professor Wilkinson recognizes this is abundantly clear. His picture of what the Prime Minister ought to be and to do makes it inevitable that we should think of what our actual experience has been. It is a hint that the country expects something very different. It is a reminder that the business of a statesman in a crisis is not to talk but to act, and that the method of compromise, tolerable perhaps in domestic warfare, means disaster now. Will the Prime Minister take to heart the hint which *Punch* has given him, that his business is not to talk but to work so as to be victorious?

THE POETRY OF MR. WILFRID BLUNT.

The Poetical Works of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. A complete edition in two volumes. (Macmillan. 1914.) 15s. net.

Two volumes with more than 450 pages in each; the whole work of a man now old who has lived intensely and learned goodness; real poetry at heat throughout; cunning, beautiful craftsmanship; and interesting all through, so interesting. Volume 1 ends with 'Quatrains of Life' in which the autobiography shadowed forth in the preceding pages takes outline; yet is veiled still. Volume 2 ends with 'The Wisdom of Merlyn' in which the whole experience is gathered into a philosophy—a philosophy of love. 'A mid-Victorian poet a little in advance of his epoch' Mr. Blunt styles himself, not unfairly, in the preface. He is too little known in the general world. A champion of home-rule for Egypt, such as Englishmen condemn, with an instinct that this kind of thing makes it hard to do one's duty; yet in their heart of hearts there is an answering chord to his sincerity: the author of a sonnet or lyric some one chances to read and recognizes as having soul and beauty quite beyond the usual run of modern poetry: that is what most know of Mr. Blunt. And he is a lucky reader who shall come with just that vague acquaintance to these volumes. He will appreciate the surprising interest of this poetry which is always telling a real story, the poet's own story. Not knowing the actual events of his life, nor caring to investigate the measure of matter-of-fact correspondence, this reader will dream the imitative dream from within, judging, condemning, pitying, admiring, hoping and rejoicing with his creative companion in the mystery; and he will be always eager to go on. To this reader too the fine workmanship and sheer loveliness of the poems will be ever and anew astonishing. Certainly he will have known nothing like it before, and his reading will be a continuous lesson demanding strenuous attention but bringing its own refreshment.

Skill in narrative appears in 'Griselda,' 'a plain tale' with easy, accomplished metre and rhyme. Yet it is not so simple as it seems. Direct vision is mingled with reflexion, and though the

poet says 'a plain tale is mine Of naked fact, unconscious of design,' he bewrays his restless heart by at once continuing :

'Told of the world in this last century'
Of Man's (not God's) disgrace, the XIXth. We
Have made it all a little as it is
In our own images and likenesses,
And need the more forgiveness for our sin.'

And, as commonly in these volumes, the new piece is disturbed by echoes. As the 'féerie' play of 'Fand' is foretold in 'Pictures on Enamel,' and 'Satan absolved' by the lines in 'Esther'

'Man the oppressor, who with pale lips curled
Sheds blood in the high places of the world,'

so is 'Griselda' in the sonnets on 'The Three Ages of Woman,' and while we read the fiction of 'Griselda' our mind goes back to the graver story told in 'The Love Sonnets of Proteus.' How far is that story a history, how far imagination? We cannot tell. Imagination has deepened reality. It is a tale of passion, waste and havoc; 'all the lands of life I did o'errun With sack and pillage.' Then discontent, remorse, and gradual transformation of remorse to something truer; till 'Vita nova' opens with the happy 'Day in Sussex':

'The dove did lend me wings. I fled away'
From the loud world which long had troubled me.
Oh lightly did I flee when hoyden May
Threw her wild mantle on the hawthorn tree.
I left the dusty high road, and my way
Was through deep meadows, shut with copses fair,
A choir of thrushes poured its roundelay
From every hedge and every thicket there.
Mild, moon-faced kine looked on, where in the grass
All heaped with flowers I lay, from noon till eve,
And hares unwitting close to me did pass,
And still the birds sang, and I could not grieve.
Oh! what a blessed thing that evening was!
Peace, music, twilight, all that could deceive
A soul to joy or lull a heart to peace.
It glimmers yet across whole years like these.'

This is divine mercy; 'on life's field The wounded crawl together, but their cry Is not to one another but to Heaven.' Reading on however we are half disgusted to find that the inheritance of an estate in Sussex has contributed to bring about the change, and when at last the gift of a perfect love is added we are ready to be indignant. Foolishly and hastily; for true love

must be undeserved, and there is no need to fear that satisfaction shall have been lightly won. Compare Proteus' 'Oh! leave the Past, if Past indeed there be. I would not know it. I would know but thee,' with that 'Later Sonnet,' 'To one in a garden':

■ If I were other than, alas, I am,
A soul in strife, whom banded foemen vex,
..... Some tears must be
Even in the herald hour of your sunrise.
And in the night? Ah, child, what misery,
Think you, awaits us when life's flood-gates strain
To the full deluge of the descending rain?'

Neither the Sonnets nor the Lyrics of Proteus nor any separate part of these volumes tells the whole story by itself. Even the constant reader attains no clear vision. But he gradually sees deep. Not remorse, nor a facile turn of fortune's wheel, but the preparation for a real conversion of the inmost man, is revealed to him. Sympathy with the suffering brutes—read 'The stricken Hart,' a poem which is so economically grand that it cannot be quoted except in full; with men in their oppression—'Not with these is God delighted, get thee homeward hence. They need thee more who wait deliverance!'; this leads up to the true 'Vita nova' which begins with '*In Vinculis*, sonnets written in an Irish prison.' We say 'begins,' though 'the combat with ungodly Man' may have been inaugurated earlier. But there are two lines in this series which shew the poet's most real self; they, above all, mark the frontier of his new life:

'Farewell, dark gaol. You hold some better hearts
Than in this savage world I thought to find.'

When we reach the intensity of his crusade in 'The Wind and the Whirlwind,' 'The Canon of Aughrim,' 'Satan absolved,' and 'A Coronation Ode,' we are apt to endorse his estimate of himself as 'a mid-Victorian, &c.' He has the didactic confidence of that period. He scolds with a certain simplicity. 'The White Man's Burden' was a naive bit of phrasing; but so is the rebuke, 'The White Man's Burden, Lord, is the burden of his cash.' Morality is not so simple after all. A nation cannot grasp virtue by retiring from the miry press of life; man's war upon the brute creation cannot be easily separated from his use of it for food and labour. Nevertheless we needed a sharp warning, and there are pages in these volumes which might profitably be read during the promised national Mission, and if we keep in mind the two

lines just quoted we may succeed in penetrating unsuspected depths beneath Mr. Blunt's apparent crudeness, a crudeness which in any case is rare in his poetry.

It is rare, for, radical as his conversion may have been, he never loses the kindly grace of the man of the world ; whatever care gnaws at his heart, he takes pleasure in the amenities of life. And bitterly though he resents man's injuries to nature, his love for wood and down and sky, nor less his complex awe before the mystery of the sea, grow more passionate and make him a man of the world in a sublimer sense. ' The Idler's calendar : twelve sonnets for the months ' is a picture of his old life. It is the unsophisticated round of an ingenuous young man : sport, London, Paris, and sport again ; but in this case it ends significantly with Egypt. It is described with masterly skill, and, as it seems on a first reading, with gusto ; only after finishing the second volume do we wonder whether there is no irony about it. Probably not ; so persistently does the early training, the instinct, reassert itself. Is it irreverent to notice it in that very far from irreverent poem ' Satan absolved ' ? The Lord God, as there portrayed, is so like a noble landowner, before whom the troubles of one of his parishes are brought. He is deeply concerned ; the people are in his very heart. He is slow to believe that under his really affectionate rule evil can have made head. On the other hand his larger interests have taught him to be equable and to take new measures with temperate hopefulness, that is, indomitably. And yet again, in the conclusion, there appears—ironically drawn ?—that characteristic trait of great place :—Satan offers to take a meaner lot than man's and so to die, with no immortal hope, for the world ; one chance is given him to recall his offer ; then, with quiet courtesy, he is taken at his word, honoured, and without more ado dismissed as though to render what after all is the opportune service which befits his condition :

' Go, thou good messenger,
And God's peace go with thee. Ho ! ye without ! Give ear !
Bow down to the Lord Satan, our anointed priest,
The new incarnate Word.'

' But who is this reviewer,' someone will say, ' who treats poetry as Mr. Fred Bayham did pictures ? He takes a man's book, reads it for the sake of what he calls the story, and fatuously supposes it is the actual story of the poet's own life ; and that is all ; no appreciation of the language, no literary criticism.' The reviewer pleads guilty—in part. The personal note of these

poems is so strong that he has felt sometimes during the months these volumes have been his companions as though he were reading, directly, the confessions of Mr. Blunt; and, if the impertinence may pass, has learned thereby to like him better and better. But of course poetry is not prose, and these poems are both less and more, far more, than autobiography. Nor has it been possible to read him almost daily without noticing the more obvious characteristics of his admirable style.

Part of its secret lies perhaps in another of those mid-Victorian peculiarities. Like Matthew Arnold or Ruskin he has no taste for metaphysics. Read 'Soul and Body,' which by its title might seem to contradict such an assertion, and judge whether it be not true. That is an idiosyncrasy which sets a writer free to develop a style of a certain kind, a very noble kind. Mr. Blunt has himself described it in one of the 'Sussex Pastorals':

'But the true sculpture of a thought, clean cut and plain of meaning,
Marble made life, with sinewy phrase and knotted argument,
And that deep-throated resonant voice which in the morn of Egypt
Spoke through her Memnon's voice to all, and all a nation
heard.'

And again it is worth while to hear what so fine a sonnet-writer says in 'A perfect sonnet':

'Oh, for a perfect sonnet of all time!
Wild music, heralding immortal hopes,
Strikes the bold prelude. To it from each clime,
Like tropic birds on some green island slopes,
Thoughts answering come, high metaphors, brave tropes,
In ordered measure and majestic rhyme.
And, presently, all hearts, kings', poets', popes',
Throb to the truth of this new theme sublime.
Anon 'tis reason speaks. A note of death
Strengthens the symphony yet fraught with pain,
And men seek meanings with abated breath,
Vexing their souls,—till lo, once more, the strain
Breaks through triumphant, and Love's master voice
Thrills the last phrase and bids all joy rejoice.'

Mr. Blunt keeps to the Italian model generally in sonnets, but, except in his early work, prefers a couplet at the end. Sometimes however he allows himself a good deal of freedom; he adds to the number of lines at will, and once uses assonance within the lines instead of rhyme. More bold is the rhyming of 'Aphrodite' with 'night,' a Gallicism which takes an ugly sound from English vowels. Or is it just carelessness like 'O Romana

jus!' in 'The Bride of the Nile'? Unless indeed that be degenerate Byzantine Latin appropriate to the lips of the degenerate governor. Mark 'Anon 'tis reason speaks.' Freedom from metaphysics does not mean distaste for reason. The masculine reason in all these poems is their main strength. Metaphors 'like tropic birds' are indeed far from frequent in this vigorous writing. Even in the poems from the Arabic just that kind of luxuriance does not appear.

These poems are notable. Mr. Blunt knows the East—

'And I arose and followed where they led,
Arose and followed ;—and behold, at hand,
With tinkling bells and tread as if on sand,
Toward me spectral from the Orient came
The pilgrim camels of that holy Land.'

He knows the East and really appreciates Arabic poetry. That is not a common faculty. Persian poetry is different, but Arabic poetry is of the desert not of this world, and Western minds can hardly get the idiom of its thought. It possesses however one beauty which every ear of any delicacy must delight in—its metres. 'And I say with iteration, in four-and-twenty metres,' says Abu Zeyd in 'The stealing of the mare.' And in 'Tárafa' we catch an echo of their expressiveness:

'Ay sing to us: we prayed her. And she, with monotony
Striking a low note slowly, chaunted unchangingly.
O strange was that cadence: it came back the wail of it,
Grave as a mother's grieving the one son new-slain from her.'

They are really metres, as in Greek, not accentual rhythms, and are therefore difficult to represent in English. Sir Charles Lyall, who has accomplished the feat in his beautiful translations, rates Mr. Blunt's performance high. And less instructed readers may venture, even on their own responsibility, to enjoy them greatly. One of the metres is quickly recognized; it is like 'Abt Vogler.' And, starting from that, we may easily pick up the others. They certainly leave a very haunting music in the ear.

It may be fancy, but this kind of composition seems to have affected Mr. Blunt's purely English verse in some respects. Note the strong, regular caesura in 'Satan absolved'; or this peculiarity—whereas most English writers are apt, when they would use dactyls, to push the accent forward and get into anapaests,

Mr. Blunt does the opposite ; he is habitually dactylic or trochaic. This lends remarkable force to his rhythm. It would be grossly fanciful to see symbolic value in such a trick of style. But, without imagining any connexion, we cannot help feeling that this determined fighter is the more meritorious in his indefatigable championship of the weak, in that he is naturally one who looks back rather than forward ; ' A home-ruled kingdom of primæval wood ' just expresses his meditative, nature-loving ideal, a *desiderium* rather than an ideal. The last thought in his book is this :

' O thou child of thy fears ! Nay, shame on thy childish part
Weeping when called to thy bed. Take cheer. When the shadows
 come, when the crowd is leaving the mart,
Then shalt thou learn that thou needest sleep, Death's kindly arms
 for thy heart.'

That is the last cry, Rest. But the note that sounds throughout is Love. Sometimes passionate, often regretful, now and then in scarcely hallowed mood, the poet who also laboured for it, celebrates Love magnificently. Never more magnificently than in the ' Dedication to George Wyndham—To a happy warrior ' ; never more sweetly than in the songs for other friends. We leave unwillingly the inscription for William Morris' table because we cannot leave unquoted ' The Rowfant Catalogue ' :

' Friends had he many, neighbours next to none.
Rowfant and Crabbet lay few fields apart.
Each Sunday saw him here, his church drill done,
Duly stroll in to talk of books and art,
Entrapped, may-be, to share my modest tart,
Roast fowl and claret, and an evening won
In stealth from Sabbath bonds strange to his heart.
Childlike he prized these truant bursts of fun.
—Long years ago ! It needs his wit to jog
Old time to life. Yet I remember well
Companioning him home to the hill's top
Keen on his books, and how he paused to tell
Eager the first news of this Catalogue.
Reading it, see, the tears come and I stop.'

A. NAIRNE.

SHORT NOTICES.

I. BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

A History of Babylon from the Foundation of the Monarchy to the Persian Conquest. By L. W. KING, Litt.D., F.S.A.
With Map, Plans and Illustrations. (Chatto and Windus.
1915.) 18s.

IN this work Dr. King takes up the story of Babylonian civilization at the point where he stopped in his monumental *History of Sumer and Akkad* in 1910. This may be considered the second volume of that work. The history of Assyria is so vitally connected with that of Babylonia that already much of it is here passed in review, but the author promises further to devote a separate work to it which we shall await with deep interest.

Assyriology is a progressive science. Every year fresh material is published and it is no mean achievement in itself to keep abreast with the new matter. It is given to few to weigh and grasp the implications and bearing of the additions made to our knowledge, in such a way as to avoid conclusions which may prove embarrassing as more light shines upon the subject. Dr. King shews himself thoroughly up to date in all he lays down, most judicious in his conclusions and convincing in his presentation of the facts, old and new.

Babylon itself owed its position as metropolis partly to its geographical position but even more to the energy of its Amorite conquerors and the administrative ability of their rulers. The history of the movements which brought it to the zenith of its power and influence is a type for all time. In our own the Germans have devoted years of unremitting toil and a vast amount of money to excavating the ruins of Babylon. These are of such an enormous extent that although the work already carried out is stupendous the results have proved disappointing because very little comparatively has come to light beyond what dates from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The destruction of the city by Sennacherib and the subsequent clearing of the site for later buildings, especially for Nebuchadnezzar's, have buried or annihilated most of the earlier work. Hence while the much less costly excavations at Asshur have revealed the existence of

forgotten kings and many ancient buildings, Babylon has not yet yielded one half of what we imagine it still has to shew.

The results of these excavations have been partly published in a series of exhaustive monographs which it will take years to complete, and the praiseworthy attempt of Koldewey to make them available for the general public is a fascinating story. It is unavoidably packed with dry details of walls and ground-plans, impressive enough as witnesses to mass and grandeur, but not easily grasped by anyone who is not an architect. We are, therefore, most grateful for the immense trouble Dr. King has devoted to understanding the German work and presenting us with a very clear account of what it all comes to. He has also given us a number of illustrations from photographs taken on the spot which are a welcome addition and indeed a necessary commentary on the German publications. It is well worth buying the book for its account of the city of Babylon alone. The curious will find the latest word on the famous Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the fabulous size of the city, and many another item of our childhood's wonders discussed in a careful and for the most part disillusioning manner.

The historian will keenly welcome the final settlement of the date of Hammurabi, B.C. 2123-2081, and the judicious treatment of the sore vexed question of the real personages intended in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. It must severely tax the ingenuity of Biblical scholars now to make the reconciliation of Hammurabi with Amraphel, Rîm Sin (or Warad Sin) with Arioch, and to regard all as contemporaries of Abraham, if not, as the Kaiser thought, his friends. But even more difficult will it be to date Abraham so early or treat these new facts as confirmations of Holy Scripture.

The date of Hammurabi being fixed a number of the earlier dynasties fall into line and we can date back with certainty to B.C. 2339. We only need a few little links more and perhaps another thousand years will settle into place. The latest discovery of a dynastic list by Professor Clay of Yale added 289 years to our knowledge. And a similar lucky find may be looked for at any time, if our people are as interested in the antiquities of Mesopotamia as the French and Germans have shewn themselves to be. Dr. King has succeeded in making another dry subject interesting. Chronology here proves as good reading as the story of the mud-brick walls of Babylon became under his treatment.

The history of the Amorite or West Semitic invasion, which placed on the throne of Babylon the dynasty which raised it

from a provincial town to be the metropolis of the Babylonian Empire, is graphically told. Dr. King, who by his edition of the Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi made clear that great monarch's contribution to the civilization of the Nearer East and of the whole world, has given also a summary of the Code which owes its name to Hammurabi. Nowhere else can the reader find such a full survey of what Babylonia was at its best. This part of the book is probably the most exhaustive and authoritative of the whole, for here the material is most abundant. Thousands of legal documents have been recovered of this period which not only throw light on the deeds of kings and heroes but also exhibit the minutest details of daily life among the people, down to the hiring of a wet-nurse for a child.

We have singularly little history for the second dynasty. What there is, is made the most of by Dr. King, but he soon passes to the Kassite dynasty founded by non-Semitic invaders from the North. They brought the horse, a few new gods, and maintained their rule for 576 years. In that time they were completely absorbed by the old civilization and they seem to have contributed little. Our documents for this period are astonishingly few and information is scrappy, but life seems to have gone on much the same. Even fewer military achievements are recorded, and those mostly defensive against Elam and the rising power of Assyria. The relations with Syria and Egypt afford a significant chapter for the story of Babylon's influence on Palestine and ultimately on Israel. This subject is most judiciously treated by Dr. King and deserves careful consideration by students of the Old Testament. The story of the rise of the Hittite Empire also comes to be treated here. The fall of the Kassite dynasty was due to an Elamite conquest for which we have cause to be thankful, for the conqueror carried off to Susa, his capital, a large number of old Babylonian monuments as trophies. The French explorations at Persepolis have brought to light there not only the Code of Hammurabi but endless other treasures of Babylonian history which would hardly have escaped destruction by Sennacherib had they remained in their old home. Then followed a succession of short dynasties of varied origin, whose kings are rarely more than names, till Babylonia fell under Assyrian power in the days of Sargon, who expelled Merodach Baladan from Babylon where he had usurped the throne.

For a short period of special interest to the Old Testament student Assyria dominated Babylonia as well as Palestine, either

ruling directly or through vassal-kings. Then Assyria fell under the onslaughts of Scythians, Medes and Persians, in which the new Babylonian King Nabopolassar contrived to save his own land by buying off the barbarians by moral support and alliance if not by actual assistance. When Assyria fell, Babylonia succeeded to the South and Western part of the Empire and under Nebuchadnezzar rose to a height of power which at least impressed Judah and the classical writers as it had never done before. But before long the Persians under Cyrus put an end to the Babylonian Empire. All this and much else can nowhere be better read than in Dr. King's work.

From the point of view of the student of civilization and the history of human thought the last chapter, on the 'Cultural Influence' of Babylon, deserves most careful consideration. There is much that is valuable for the thoughtful student of Old Testament in the theories of Winckler, Jeremias and others upon Astral Religion, the so-called Oriental Teaching and view of the Cosmos, but the whole subject has run riot and Pan-Babylonismus has become an obsession in some quarters. The plain man has been stunned and oppressed by the storm of assertion, which in his ignorance of cuneiform and his lack of educated comparative methods, he cannot verify and check. This chapter is a sober examination of the grounds for those assertions and a wholesome criticism of rash deduction from the many similarities in early thought perceptible throughout Nearer Asia.

The controversy over the influence of East upon West in the centuries before Christ and the debt of Christianity to earlier religious thought is far from being completely worked out, but this work cannot be passed over by anyone who desires to form his own opinion at this stage.

The book itself is a work of art, splendidly got up, lavishly illustrated with the greatest wisdom in the choice of illustration, and a pleasure to read and to handle. It reflects the highest credit alike on author and publishers.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices by A. H. M'NEILE, D.D. (Macmillan. 1915.) 15s.

ST. MATTHEW is certainly the hardest of the Synoptic Gospels, possibly the hardest of all the four; not as regards translation, for there is scarcely one difficult passage in the Greek; nor as

regards the text, for it contains no famous problems such as the last twelve verses of St. Mark, or the *pericope de adultera* in St. John ; but as regards the interpretation. What do those simple sentences *mean* ? We confess that we have not yet seen a satisfactory explanation of St. Matt. iii 15 ; how many theologians agree in their interpretation of the promise to St. Peter in xvi 18 ? and these are but two instances out of many.

It is small wonder, therefore, if Commentaries on this Gospel multiply, and yet fail to satisfy all our needs. In the last few years three elaborate works have appeared in England, by Archdeacon Allen, Dr. Plummer, and Dr. M'Neile, respectively ; and yet we doubt whether they have made us understand St. Matthew much better than before. Indeed, the book has received more successful treatment from the Jewish scholar, Mr. C. Montefiore : the section on it in his *Synoptic Gospels* is fresh and illuminating and we wish that Dr. M'Neile had referred to it more frequently.

Dr. M'Neile's commentary is laborious, accurate, and dull. He is a good Greek scholar, well read in the general literature bearing on his subject, and especially learned in Jewish customs and traditions. If we want to know the different ways in which it is possible to spell 'Nazareth' or 'Zebedee,' we shall find them all duly tabulated in his notes ; and if we are studying the Synoptist problem, we can see the minutest variations between Matthew, Mark, and Luke laid out, with a perfect maze of cross-references ; but it is doubtful whether the reasons of the variations will have become more evident ; Dr. M'Neile is more successful at stating a problem than in solving it. Certainly he is thorough, and he has tried to be compact ; long though his commentary is—over 450 pages—it contains so much matter that every superfluous word has had to be excised ; indeed we think that compression has been carried too far. We are given dogmatic pronouncements where we should have preferred argument and proof ; some of the additional notes are almost as obscure as the expressions they set out to explain ; the Introduction is not only short but thin ; in it the whole question of the date of the Gospel is discussed in less than two pages, with a summary conclusion that it was written between 80 and 100 A.D., and without a word of consideration for the arguments urged by Allen and by Harnack for a much earlier date.

It is not easy to discover Dr. M'Neile's theological position ; he writes reverently, but not without that patronizing tone which some recent commentators on St. Matthew have thought

fit to adopt. He is a very candid friend to the Evangelist, and loses no opportunity of pointing out his errors; St. Matthew apparently misunderstood St. Mark as often as not, and we are warned that the Gospel as we have it now contains elements which are not only foreign to our Lord's own teaching but are clean contrary to it; the Bishops will have, before long, to revise our Twentieth Article, and to maintain that the Church *may* so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. With regard to such miraculous events as the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection, the author holds that the central facts are historical, but that a considerable amount of legendary matter has gathered round St. Matthew's presentation of them.

On the whole, this commentary is a book to refer to rather than to read; there is a very large amount of information in it for which the most advanced student will be grateful; but it is a book for advanced students only, and they will be able to criticize as they use it.

The Ephesian Gospel. By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.B.A., 'Crown Theological Library,' vol. xl. (Williams and Norgate. 1915.) 5s. net.

THE volume opens with a brief survey of some of the chief factors in Ephesian thought, and of the parts played by philosophy, Heracleitean and Hellenistic, by the indigenous nature-cults of Anatolia, and by more recent outgrowths of Mystery belief and ritual, in shaping the religious consciousness of the First century. Over all this the author moves lightly, on familiar ground. The most questionable suggestion is that the Ephesian 'tendency to raise human beings to divine rank' instanced in the history of Lysander, Alexander, and the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings, had any effect whatever upon the developments of Pauline or Johannine Christology. The Christian idea of Incarnation owes nothing to Hellenic forms of hero-worship and apotheosis. The next two chapters sketch the relations of St. Paul with Ephesus, and the later glimpses into Church life furnished by the Apocalypse, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr. All this is very slight, and the loose strands are never satisfactorily knit into the main body of the work. In these matters Professor Gardner disarms criticism when he pleads that the work is 'not intended for scholars, but for ordinary persons of good education'; but there is some want of decision in the guidance which he gives. His own intimacy with all that is known of Mystery-

worships tempts him to detect their influence in unlikely quarters, and in a previous work he held that they very tangibly affected St. Paul's doctrine and use of sacraments. From this contention he is disposed somewhat to recede, and for St. John at any rate does not claim more than those affinities of thought which indicate a like atmosphere and circle of ideas: the aim of the Gospel is to dissociate ritual from beliefs in magical virtues and efficacy, and to spiritualize to the utmost the sacramental rites of Christian initiation and communion. On this side the evidence hardly allows of clearer definition: but in his treatment of the Logos-Doctrine Professor Gardner wavers strangely. 'In his cosmology the Evangelist has abandoned the Old Testament for Plato more completely than did Philo, and far more completely than did the early Church.' But on p. 266 we read 'The detached philosophic thought of Plato is in complete contrast to St. Paul's practical ways of regarding things. And the Fourth Evangelist is nearer in this matter to St. Paul than to Plato. After all, the garb of a Platonic philosopher will not fit him.' This statement seems to us as right, as the previous statement is extravagantly wrong. Apparently there is no trace of Platonic or Heracleitean categories in St. John, and only of derivative influences from Philo; but we will not linger upon what is the weakest part of the book, and the side of the subject least congenial to the author.

When Professor Gardner grapples with his proper theme, all want of clearness vanishes. The Apocalypse was written by one 'John the Prophet'; to confound him with the author of the Gospel is 'a patent absurdity,' and argues an absence of all critical faculty. The Second and Third Epistles are by an unidentified 'John the Elder.' Thus the Gospel and the First Epistle may be treated on their own merits, and are throughout, including Chap. xxi, the work of the same hand. In deciding authorship, Professor Gardner accepts and refers his readers to the general conclusions put forward by Dr. Moffatt, and gives no restatement of proofs. To him the author is a Jew of the Dispersion, resident in Ephesus, touched with the garrulousness of age, who probably owed his conversion as well as his main trend of thought to St. Paul, and to whom the Synoptic Gospels were familiar. 'The beloved disciple' referred to in the Gospel is John the son of Zebedee, and the evidence seems irresistible that the author has derived from him details of incidents, and genuine sayings of the Lord. In accepting this conclusion two qualms trouble the author: first that good

authorities support the early martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee ; secondly, that the tone of the Gospel does not accord with the temper ascribed by the Synoptists to John the Apostle. As regards the first, constructive criticism must have the nerve to choose between irreconcilable alternatives ; in face the massed weight of testimony to his later life at Ephesus, the evidence, such as it is, for the early martyrdom of St. John is of the flimsiest, and suggestions that it may contain elements of truth, or that it lies within the bounds of probability, arise out of critical perversity or critical neurasthenia. The second difficulty dwindles to nothing, upon Professor Gardner's own theory of authorship ; but apart from this, the Epistle shews traits which—allowing for the differences of youth and age—are in striking accord with the temperament illustrated by the Synoptic narrative.

We have dwelt on these points, because they are to some extent symptomatic. Professor Gardner's candour is everywhere conspicuous ; but he is too easily eclectic. He is ready to catch at some common term of agreement—just as in his handling of Mystery rites and Christian sacraments—and to obscure, or even overlook, distinctions that go much deeper. This is a recurring weakness in his treatment of St. Paul and St. John. Their agreement in results to him proves direct affiliation ; and he regards *John*¹ as in all probability a convert of St. Paul. At bottom this is because *John* is not to him a real personality, but a combination of 'sources,' the spokesman of a collective Christian consciousness. The affinities, which he most emphasizes, are the union of the believer with Christ, salvation 'by faith,' and the conception of Church fellowship. But each deserves more penetrative treatment than it secures. Unquestionably St. Paul and *John* agree in insisting upon the union of the believer with Christ, and upon the saving power of 'faith' ; but the terms are very differently apprehended, and St. John is in truth supplementing serious, indeed almost vital, defects in the Pauline scheme. Each builds upon deep, intensely felt experience ; in result these experiences unite ; but in origin they lie poles apart. St. Paul's experience, initiated in his own conversion and radiating from that centre, is an overwhelming conviction and apprehension of the Risen and Exalted Christ, as a present reality of the spiritual consciousness. In his 'no longer I, but Christ in me,' it would be impossible to substitute 'Jesus,'

¹ For clearness and brevity we venture to denote Professor Gardner's author of *The Ephesian Gospel* as *John*.

and remain true to Pauline thought: the Incarnation is a preliminary stage of 'Kenosis,' of self-chosen humiliation and suffering that paved the way to glory. To St. John on the other hand the centre of faith—he never uses the abstract Pauline 'Pistis' but expresses the relation in the far more personal and human term 'believe on' (πιστεύειν εἰς)—is in the Incarnate manifestation of the Godhead in the historic words and works of Jesus, the realization of which is vital to the Christian consciousness. In the Gospel he embodies and, so far as possible, expresses it; in the Epistle he requires and applies it as a test. The two views may be covered by the common term 'union of believer with Christ,' but to slur the distinction is to darken knowledge. To Professor Gardner the Gospel rests not on a vital and enacted experience, but on an idealized interpretation of Christ into the terms of an historic but 'non-natural' Jesus. The writer is not an eye-witness, but a reporter or dramatist of spiritual impressions. Little of the Gospel represents actual fact; 'every event is translated from its temporal and spacial setting into one which is ideal and spiritual,' in which 'truth to fact becomes indifferent.' This view makes havoc of the true relation of the Johannine presentment to the Pauline. St. Paul—it is at once his strength and weakness—founded his Christology upon a *unique* experience, which did not admit of reproduction in the spiritual consciousness of fellow-Christians, but in the intensity of a personal conviction claimed to provide a guarantee for affirmations which they had not shared. It is no wonder that Docetic and Gnostic tendencies developed in the Pauline Churches, in which St. John ministered: it was inevitable. To them St. John bears his own witness. As, one by one, the generation of eye-witnesses passed away, and as the impersonal records of the Gospels raised questions which they answered but imperfectly, the need of the Church became just that which the Johannine writings meet, as an authentic and personal account of the impression created by the human Jesus in act and word and self-expression. A new basis for convinced attachment and belief is provided in the realization of the true humanity: the Incarnation is regarded not as a *Kenosis*, but as a shewing forth of 'glory,' a manifestation of the Divine in terms of the finite and the human. Any such reading of the Gospel must in Professor Gardner's view be jettisoned: it is not the record of an actual experience, but ideals of the collective Christian consciousness. He pleads that the spiritual values will be conserved, whatever decision be reached on authorship. That might be urged, if he were arguing that

the very existence of the ideal implied a corresponding and prevenient reality. But he is not ; on the contrary, actuality and authorship are discredited on the very ground that the forms of the ideal are non-natural and inadmissible. The historical personality of Jesus will not admit so much as the figures of the Good Shepherd or the Vine. On such shewing it becomes of vital consequence whether the author is indeed an authentic witness, or rather a creative and dramatic artist, transfiguring into biographical form imaginations of the mystic or the spiritual.

To those who hold fast to the traditional view it is at least encouraging to note how the best modernist interpreters feel more and more compelled to postulate some background of direct derivation from St. John himself. No one has worked out this thesis with more thoroughness and particularity than Professor Wendt. All that may be called central in the Prologue and the Discourses he would trace back to the Apostle : on this Professor Gardner ingenuously observes ' The view seems to me a precise transposition of the truth ; yet it is curious that I could accept his concluding chapter with small modifications.' So that if only we may presume to combine the two Professors we have restored to us a Gospel, which takes its inspiration, if not its written execution, almost entire from John the son of Zebedee.

Dictionary of the Apostolic Church. Edited by J. HASTINGS, D.D.
With the Assistance of J. A. SELBIE, D.D., and J. C.
LAMBERT, D.D. Volume i. 'Aaron-Lystra.' (T. and T.
Clark. 1915.) 21s. net.

ANYONE who has been tempted to suppose that Dr. Hastings must by this time have exhausted the possibilities of dictionary-making in his special field may regard with some surprise this new undertaking which is designed as a continuation of the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. But he will be unwise if he regards it as superfluous because some of the subjects have already been treated in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. It is difficult to realize that the first volume of that great work, though very far from being superannuated, was published seventeen years ago ; and for our own part we are grateful rather than dissatisfied at being able to choose between the articles on 'Angels'—to take a single subject—by Dr. A. B. Davidson, Dr. Marshall, the Bishop of Moray in the present work, and yet another which we may expect when the *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics* reaches the title 'Spirits.' Nor are we disturbed because in

a very interesting and useful study of the Acts of the Apostles Professor Kirsopp Lake inclines to a view of the course of events between the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord which the Bishop of Moray in the article on 'Ascension' pronounces to be 'scarcely credible,' or because Mr. Lake is much less certain of the date of Festus than Professor Zenos (*s.v.* 'Dates'), while a very simple—though not therefore necessarily justifiable—emendation of a single stroke in Gal. ii 1 (giving 4 for 14) to which the former calls attention would necessitate some restatement in Mr. F. S. Marsh's argument as to dates in the Epistle to the Galatians. Such divergence is greatly to be preferred to a uniformity imposed from without.

Of the other New Testament Books the articles on Colossians and Ephesians are written by Mr. L. W. Grensted, that on the Corinthian Epistles by Mr. G. H. Clayton. The Archdeacon of Manchester has written so much on 'the Gospels' that he must have found some difficulty here in avoiding repetition. His present conclusion as to the Fourth Gospel is significant.

'It may be hoped that we shall one day have an editor of the Gospel who is trained in Rabbinic exegesis, as well as in Western scholarship. Such a one may find that the Gospel is certainly the work of a Jew, and may see no reason for denying that its author may have been John the son of Zebedee. If he prefer historical evidence as to Christ's teaching and Person to preconceived ideas about Him, he may also see no reason for denying that both Synoptic and Johannine pictures of Jesus are substantially true, yet equally one-sided, and that the Jesus of history must have been One of whom all our knowledge can be only partial, enough to elicit our devotion and to silence our criticism.'

The Johannine Epistles are treated by Dr. A. E. Brooke, the Apocalypse by Dr. L. A. Muirhead, and Hebrews by Mr. Marsh. The article on 'Inspiration and Revelation' by Dr. Sanday is limited somewhat by the conjunction, yet succeeds in saying many things which most students will be glad to have read. In one passage however, where he maintains that 'the infallibility of the Scriptures—and indeed the verbal infallibility—is expressly laid down in Jn 10³⁵ (where the Evangelist is speaking rather than his Master). Yet the assertion of the doctrine in this instance is associated with an argument which, to modern and Western logic, is far from infallible' we are left wondering whether here as elsewhere some of the difficulties into which the application of our logical method leads us might not be cleared away by a closer examination of premisses.

The various articles relating to organization (Church, Church Government, Apostle, Bishop, Deacon, Evangelist) are the work of Dr. Plummer. They are of course largely historical, but the writer's own standpoint is not unfairly illustrated by three quotations: (1) "Christianity is not an archaeological puzzle" (J. H. Ropes); (2) 'The origin of the episcopate is, and is likely to remain, unknown'; (3) 'Certainty is not attainable, and there is nothing approaching to it in favour of the theory that Christ gave a scheme of Church government to the apostles, and that they delivered it to the Church. There is little evidence to support either of these propositions. The far more probable theory is that Church government was a gradual growth initiated and guided by the Spirit, to meet the growing needs of a rapidly increasing community. This theory is supported by a good deal of evidence, and it is in harmony with what we know of God's methods in other departments of human life.' To the reviewer at any rate it does not seem that we need impale ourselves upon either horn of any such implied dilemma, unless we wish to do so; and Mgr. Batiffol's description (*s.v.* Ignatius) of the position of Clement, 'It is very probable that Clement was "prokathemenos," although in his time the line of demarcation between episcopate and presbytery was blurred,' and of the attitude of Ignatius to the question is less exclusive.

The treatment in 'Christ, Christology' differs from that in Dr. Sanday's article in the *Dictionary of the Bible* in that Dr. Anderson Scott is concerned mainly with the second. If it states problems rather than solves them, that is probably all that could be expected in the space allowed, and where it divagates into exegesis the results are not wholly satisfactory. In spite of the parallels adduced from Col. i 18 *cf.* i 15 we decline to believe that the Arian interpretation of Rev. iii 14 is either necessary or probable. And Rev. xiii 8 ought not to be quoted as though there were no doubt as to its meaning (contrast Swete *ad loc.* and Dr. Montgomery in the present volume *s.v.* 'Book of Life'). The reader who will compare the article as a whole with that of the Bishop of Moray on 'God' will find a good deal to interest him in noticing the points at which differences occur, and he should study side by side with them that of Dr. Schlatter of Tübingen on the Holy Spirit.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do more than call attention to the articles 'Baptism' (Bishop of Moray), 'Eucharist' (by Mr. G. H. Clayton: confined to Acts and Pauline Epistles), and those—*e.g.* 'Atonement' (Professor

Platt), 'Ethics' (Mr. J. H. Maude), 'Fall' (Dr. Garvie)—which deal with the problem of Sin. The last inclines, though with some hesitation, to an acceptance of the view set forth by Dr. Tennant in several well-known books. And the philosophical articles such as those of Professor Lofthouse, Mr. Tod, Mr. Lambert and others would demand a review to themselves—a statement which might be made with equal justice of the generally useful studies of apocalyptic and apocryphal literature and a large number of historical and geographical articles. The only weak point—though we are aware that it would not be everywhere so regarded—seems to us to lie in the allotment of valuable space to a certain number of subjects which seem to have for their main purpose the easier production of sermons.

II. PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

Belief and Practice. By W. M. SPENS, Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Longmans. 1915.) 6s. net.

THIS essay towards a Liberal Catholicism is an unusually interesting and attractive book. Not only is it a piece of original work, but it is original work of a very high order. It should be not merely read, but studied, by all who are called upon to deal with the primary problems of theology.

Mr. Spens gives us, in the first place, a powerful and persuasive variation of Mr. Balfour's characteristic argument. Years ago Mr. Balfour told us that, if there seem to be a certain weakness in the theoretical foundations of Religion, that same weakness can be discerned in the theoretical foundations of Science. Mr. Spens reverses this argument, and makes it a constructive apologetic. In effect, he says, the Catholic system of thought, in virtue of its relation to Catholic experience, can claim precisely the same validity which the formulations of science derive from their relation to experience. For Mr. Spens Catholic experience is fundamental. It is the primary ground of authority, and he would make it the practical test of orthodoxy. He seems to be tolerant of intellectual dissent, but behind his toleration there is an insistent demand for something much greater than intellectual conformity. He demands acceptance, *ex animo*, of Catholic experience, of the living Catholic system of life and worship. For him *lex orandi* is *lex credendi*. In illuminating and suggestive pages he gives to the never-ending controversy with Rome a new turn. Rome is wrong, not merely because

she says this and that, but chiefly and vitally because she has impoverished and perverted the very conception of authority.

Attention may be especially drawn to two matters of exceptional interest. A short discussion, which reaches the verge of political theory, ends in a demonstration that the Church is the one perfect society because it alone actually possesses the real authority to which other societies variously aspire.

Then, in two very important chapters, Mr. Spens makes a bold, subtle and successful attempt, not to rationalize the mystery of the Eucharist, but to shew how the words of Institution may be accepted literally and intelligently. In those chapters 'This is My Body' is not merely a dogma, but a brilliantly expounded dogma. Those chapters alone suffice to give this book a permanent and high place in the literature of English Theology.

III. REUNION STUDIES.

Russian Life To-day. By the Right Rev. HERBERT BURY, D.D., Bishop for Northern and Central Europe. (Mowbray. 1915.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book seems well to deserve the popularity which it has already acquired as a vivid picture of some features of Russian life, drawn by a sympathetic observer who has had special facilities for observation. Bishop Bury writes not only sympathetically but enthusiastically. Moreover his descriptions bring out the salient points, so that other travellers in the country on reading the book will constantly find themselves saying 'That is exactly what I noticed.'

The side which is exhibited is naturally the ecclesiastical one. Primarily the Bishop lets us see his own work in ministering to English colonies in Russia. His *apologia* for such work (if needed at all) is very effective and should silence thoughtless criticism of his position and task. Not the least interesting part of the book is that which describes his experiences in following up English Churchmen to their homes in the civilized wilds of Siberia.

But the native ecclesiastical affairs are in evidence at all points, and much useful information as to the daily life of the Russian Church is laid before the reader. For a deeper, and in some cases rather more accurate, view of the situation he must go to other books—historical and theological—which

have a different aim from the present work. It would have been well therefore if some references to such books accessible in English could have been given. But this lack may perhaps be supplied in a later edition, when there may also be an opportunity for the correction of some slips in names and a few others in more important details. Meanwhile the wide diffusion of the book testifies to its attractiveness and value.

English Church Ways. Described to Russian friends in four Lectures delivered at St. Petersburg in March 1914. By W. H. FRERE, D.D., of the Community of the Resurrection. (John Murray.) 2s. 6d. net.

THIS book consists of four lectures delivered by Dr. Frere first at Riga in February 1914 and then at Petrograd. Their purpose was to describe the Church of England to members of the Russian Church who are sympathetic with it. They were originally delivered in English, but read sentence by sentence alternately with a Russian translation prepared by Mr. Nicholas Lodygensky.

In our opinion Dr. Frere has performed his task ably and fairly. As he tells us, 'such a process necessarily involves the adoption of a particular point of view and the presentment of a personal outlook.' He claims to have done 'his best to secure that the outlook should not be narrow or partisan, but should combine many of the features of a very varied landscape.' We think he has succeeded. Of course a description of the Church of England written from a somewhat different point of view would vary in its emphasis, and would give a somewhat different picture; but we do not think that there is any single statement which could be objected to as inaccurate, and Dr. Frere takes great pains to give full credit to the work of the Evangelical school of thought. What adds to the value of his description is that it is based on accurate and fair historical knowledge. It shews historically the origin of the particular characteristics of the English Church, the *raison d'être* of her institutions, and the spiritual gains from her different religious movements and parties.

Does not the following extract commend itself to our readers as very fair? —

'Thus the Evangelical Revival and the Catholic Revival in the nineteenth century followed one another, supplemented one another,

and have given us a revived vitality. It was very characteristic that this great double reviving should come to us, as it did, along the lines of the two parties which had so long been, not rivals, but co-operators in the destiny of the English Church. As the Blessed Spirit breathed upon Evangelicals—or the “Low Church Party”—to use the well-known but rather offensive nickname—they rose up to contribute an element that was indispensable to the future. An equally indispensable element was contributed when the Catholic-minded, or “High Churchmen,” who had been, for some time previously, the stiff, and rather narrow, maintainers of an old tradition, themselves caught the inspiration in their turn; and brought out afresh from the treasury of God all the old Catholic faith and discipline and practice, and commended it afresh to the English nation. The English Church life in its vigour of to-day is the result of the quickening, which came mainly from these two movements; though there were also many subsidiary forces that entered into co-operation as well. The result may be described as a “Catholic Evangelicalism”; for everywhere in the best activities among us a blending of these two forces is noticeable.’

It would be a matter of great interest if—with this book before him—a definite but fair-minded Evangelical Churchman could in a similar manner describe ‘English Church ways’ from his own point of view: a comparison of the two would be interesting and would enable a just opinion to be formed of what the Church is like from its practical side. There is one thing further that will be necessary: and that is to explain the intellectual position of the Church of England in relation to criticism and modern thought. It is of course that side of our Church life which at present is most difficult for the Russian Church to understand. They have not yet the circumstances which will enable them to realize the problems that confront us. The time will come when those problems will press on them strongly, and then they will want our help.

We should like to make one observation in conclusion. Dr. Frere’s lectures were of course originally intended for Russians. That certainly is not the limit of their usefulness. There are many people in this country, Churchmen as well as Nonconformists, who want to understand about ‘English Church ways’—who want to know the origin and rationale of much that puzzles them. We think that they would find this book most useful. It is one of the best accounts of the practical life of the Church of England that we know.

IV. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The Latin Church in the Middle Ages. By ANDRÉ LAGARDE.
Translated by A. ALEXANDER, PH.D. 'International
Theological Library.' (T. and T. Clark. 1915.) 12s.

MERELY to review a book which covers so large a field as this book does is difficult enough : to write it as it ought to be written seems almost impossible. Milman's really great work still keeps its interest even where his judgements have to be revised : some later writers, among whom Hauck for Germany, Stubbs for England, and a few French writers stand out, have risen beyond erudition to power. But they have after all only cultivated parts of the immense field. One regrets the charm of Milman as one stands before the modern manuals, Moeller, Funk, Kawerau, and Krüger, with their large-print paragraphs surrounded by wire entanglements of endless references in small print and with mystic abbreviations. They are invaluable as helps, but the more we use them the more we long for a modern writer on the olden scale of Gibbon : nowhere, too, have we longed for him more than when we were wandering in the charming overgrown paths of the mediaeval Western Church. We found so many details, picturesque and well worth study, so many new points of view unnoticed by our ecclesiastical Baedekers (if we may use the speech of a day that is past), that we became quite sure the thing must be done afresh and done thoroughly. And yet the material already accumulated was so vast, the special but none the less essential lines of study were so many, that an author essaying the task ought to combine the powers of Gibbon, Milman, Stubbs and Ranke, if he wished to reach perfection. Meanwhile we were ready to accept with thankfulness something far below perfection.

§ It is, therefore, with a standard none too rigid and an imagination chastened by experience that we approach the work before us. It would have been enough for us if the writer had felt the difficulties of his task and given his time and thought to overcome them. But without any wish to judge him too hardly he seems to have fallen far below Milman in his general conceptions : he seems to lack the enthusiasm and sympathy which mediaeval studies, more perhaps than any others, demand : he is too ready to see corruptions and detect abuses. Few people would encourage a private detective to write their biographies,

and the methods of the private detective have been used far too often in works on the Middle Ages. Some characters of the period, notably perhaps ecclesiastics, readily lend themselves to such treatment, and have unwisely left material for it behind them. But the historian of high moral standard, with a balanced historic judgement, adopts other methods: he aims at accuracy, carefulness and completeness of detail, yet he is not prepared to sacrifice breadth of vision and the enthusiasm of hope. These larger qualities are not, in our opinion, to be found in this particular work. Nor has their necessity, we think, been borne in mind.

One chapter—ix on the Pontifical Exchequer—stands out as excellent, giving condensed information rare in English books, and only to be got from Dowden's *Mediaeval Church in Scotland* and Mollat's *Papes d'Avignon* among works easy to find. Other chapters—notably perhaps ii, on 'The Christian Life: Sacraments and Devotions,' and xvi, on 'Ecclesiastical Writers'—fall far below it in merit. In Chapter ii the treatment is not definitely historical, and the reader has only too often to look at a composite photograph made up of characteristics belonging to separate centuries. Many statements might be questioned—e.g. (p. 37) 'Until the Sixth century infants were baptized only when they were in danger of death. About this time the practice was introduced of administering baptism even when they were not ill etc.' And we are not sure what is meant (p. 39) by 'Confirmation, a simple branch which, detached from the tree, lived an independent life and itself became a tree. It was what botanists call growth by grafting.' There is confusion in the horticulture if not in the auxiliary history. In the same chapter too much is made of the influence of Celtic missionaries and of the Council of Châlons (A.D. 647) upon the introduction of confession: this can be said even with the caution given us (p. 57). And the statement (p. 73) that 'the benefice of ordination was not inamissable' sounds odd. It finds a rival however (p. 51) in the assertion that 'being deified' the Eucharistic bread and wine 'deified all those who communicated.'

Chapter xiii professedly based on A. Hauck's *Dogmengeschichte* (?) *Deutschlands* is in parts meagre and does not leave upon the reader an impression answering to the obvious diligence of the writer. When we come to Wyclif (the dates for whose life are rightly given after Loserth's latest researches) statements far too general are made: 'the mendicant monks (*sic*),' it is said, 'gave an enthusiastic welcome to his theories.'

The change in their opinion of him which accompanied his denial of Transubstantiation (his teaching under this head is passed over, although essential to the chapter) is not noted, as it well might have been. On the other hand five pages are given to a quite unnecessary life of Luther. But even with him there is a lack of characterization, typical of the whole book.

Chapter xvi is summary throughout, although to Gregory the Great, Bede, Alcuin, St. Anselm and a few others is granted a little space: here and there it becomes an almost useless catalogue: Gregory of Tours has eight lines; the False Decretals—which are only casually mentioned elsewhere—have six lines; John of Salisbury has only five; St. Peter Damiani (here described as Peter Damien although he appears elsewhere as Pierre Damien, e.g. p. 390) has nineteen; the inclusion of Sir Thomas More, Fisher, Reuchlin, Eck, Cajetan and Melchior Cano († 1563) with an average of five lines each is not compensation enough for this deficiency. A vivid sketch even for parts of mediaeval ecclesiastic literature would have been preferable. Had the translator been more kindly (even our present admiration for the French leaves us impatient of Mathieu Paris (p. 582), of Lucques (pp. 363 and 393), and (p. 383) of the Decretals of Sirice) a more favourable verdict might have awaited a writer of varied knowledge and much diligence. But he has hardly adequate control of his material, and he rarely rises to large conceptions. He is fortunate, perhaps, in having written after the death of S. R. Maitland. But he might study that writer's *Dark Ages* with good results.

Church History, Mediaeval and Modern. By W. L. BEVAN, Professor of History, University of the South. 'Sewanee Theological Library.' (Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press. 1915.) \$1.50.

THIS book is one of a series intended as 'a norm for canonical examinations,' useful for recommendation by examining chaplains as a minimum of knowledge, and yet useful as guides to further studies, fitted with bibliographies and suggestions for deeper research. The particular model taken by this book, the late S. R. Gardiner's *Introduction to English History* published with Mullinger's bibliography, is a good one, and use has been made of well-chosen larger books. On the whole the work has been well done: bias has been avoided and yet interest, which is a quite different thing, has been kept. No critic would

have a right to expect thorough agreement with his own opinions, and every critic would feel able to give advice and make corrections. But he ought to be thankful to find a sensible general view with sound judgement in details. This book certainly reaches such a standard and ought to be not only useful but used. There are a few misprints: Czech 'naturalism' for 'nationalism' (p. 177), and 'Marone' (p. 255) for 'Morone.' The Bibliography—a valuable help rightly emphasized—seems here and there a little haphazard (though we note the explanation on p. ix): here too we note misprints: Olland, Boundinhon, Margoliuth, Stuts and *Eigekirche* (for Stutz, *Eigen.*), Selves (for Culvès), Hailie (Haile). One would gladly see in it a little more precision—e.g. more indications of English translations and fuller details; thus there is no hint of a connexion between Gierke's *Genossenschaft* and the *Political Theories of the Middle Age*. Some subdivision and some more information would treble its usefulness. Additions (and possibly omissions) might be made, for Bibliographies above any other part of a book should pass through four or five hands before publication.

On many critical points sound judgement is used: so, for instance, on the early Papacy; on the private church (*Eigekirche*); on the Anglican Reformation (although the statement that the government published the Elizabethan Advertisements may be questioned). More fulness of treatment would have made some parts—e.g. the Conciliar Movement (p. 173), and the French Church during the Revolution (pp. 281-3)—more interesting and impressive. But space is limited for a writer as for his critic; it is pleasant to find so many things and so much attempted in the proper spirit and in the end well done. The book stands far above most of its kind; it well deserves praise: a second edition (which we hope may be called for) will doubtless deserve it even more.

V. MISSIONS.

The History of Christian Missions. 'International Theological Library.' By C. H. ROBINSON, D.D., Editorial Secretary of the S.P.G. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1915.) 10s. 6d. net.

CANON ROBINSON describes his book as 'an outline sketch of Christian Missions, . . . a textbook to encourage and facilitate their study.' This description is correct. It is neither a dis-

cussion of principles nor a volume of statistics, though valuable samples of both abound in it ; neither is it a complete history of Christian Missions, which would require several volumes at least. It is an excellent book of reference for Missions throughout the world, as they are at the present day ; their *beginnings*—as Canon Robinson mentions in his Preface—are always emphasized ; American and Continental Missions, notably the former, are given their due and most important place in the story of evangelization ; while at the same time Anglican Missions are shewn in several cases to have been the pioneers of others which have achieved numerically greater results. The more romantic Missions have their romance duly chronicled ; the lives of truly great characters like Xavier, Las Casas, or Livingstone are described so far as possible in detail ; countries like India or China, Japan or South Africa, have a proportionate amount of space devoted to them. Very valuable are the many passages shewing the failure of political methods of conversion, those describing the influence of such men as Pagolu Venkayya or Maung Tha Dun, and such stories as that of the Moravian missionaries to Greenland, who found that the simple preaching of ‘ Jesus Christ and Him Crucified ’ won the hearts of the natives when all other means had failed. Canon Robinson is decided in his opinions, *e.g.* he goes further than has been customary in maintaining that Bishop Crowther’s episcopate was ‘ an almost complete failure ’ ; but this makes his book the more suggestive, nor are we surprised when we come across words of wisdom, such as his account of the influence of the great Sahara Desert on the whole history of Europe and Africa alike. We commend to our readers’ special notice Chapters i, ii, xxiii, xxiv, together with the Appendix, and the chapters on Missions to Moslems and Jews.

Heralds of the Cross. Short Sketches of Missionary Heroes.

By E. B. TRIST. (S.P.C.K. 1915.) 2s. net.

Some Battlefields of the Cross. Asia and Southern Seas. By

E. B. TRIST. (S.P.C.K. 1915.) 2s. net.

THESE two little books are both of the same character, and by the same author, and may therefore be considered together. They are evidently written for intelligent children interested in Missions. The object of ‘ Battlefields ’ is to describe countries and peoples, so as to arouse sympathy for the latter, and zeal for their conversion and enlightenment ; the object of ‘ Heralds ’ is to tell, in the simplest manner, the story of many who have

actually worked in the cause, both men and women. Both books are full of the kind of details most likely to interest children; whether the author is describing the customs of heathen peoples, or the sayings and doings of missionaries and of those with whom they came in contact, he always whets the appetites of his readers. Many of his anecdotes would seem trivial, were they not so vivid and picturesque—which is only to say that he has succeeded in his object. Even adults, learned in the history of Missions, may gather much from either book. 'Heralds' in one respect is specially valuable, *viz.* that it tells of many of the lesser lights of the mission-field, together with its greatest stars; also of some who, like Isabella Bishop or George Hutchinson, have been supporters of Missions rather than themselves missionaries. We wish each book a wide circulation, especially among elder children.

VI. SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

The Inequality of Human Races. By ARTHUR DE GOBINEAU.
Translated by A. COLLINS, M.A., Introduction by Dr.
OSCAR LEVY. (Heinemann. 1915.) 5s. net.

THE work of Count de Gobineau is valuable chiefly from an historical standpoint. The book before us was published first in 1854, and it must have excited much criticism as being both fantastic and reactionary. In an introduction to the new translation, Dr. Levy speaks of the Gobineau 'school,' and in fact the principles enunciated by the Count have been enlarged and adapted by later writers. It is perhaps worth noticing however that Buckle, writing only two years later than Count de Gobineau, makes no reference to the latter. Gobineau was superbly pessimistic. Though extolling the superiority of the 'white' races, his real refrain was one of lamentation for their inevitable downfall. Proclaiming the racial inequality of mankind, Gobineau insisted that the differences are fundamental and probably aboriginal. They are matters not of nurture, but of descent or nature. Gobineau sought evidence of the polygenistic mode of origin of mankind, but admitting honestly enough that the evidence was inconclusive, he was perforce content to lay stress upon such contrasts as actually exist.

But the superior white race is imperilled should it contract alliances and allow admixture with either of the two inferior

stocks (*viz.* the black and the yellow races). For the 'mixed' offspring will be intermediate in quality (Mendel was but commencing his work when Gobineau wrote). Moreover the degeneration is progressive, the decay incapable of arrest. No agency as yet devised is able to avert the catastrophe. Geographical situation, climate, religion, certain social institutions might be considered *a priori* as likely to protect. But Gobineau devoted some space to the disproof of such views, and declared that at most the factors mentioned can only secure the postponement of a result which is inevitable.

Yet we are not to conclude with complacency that this gloomy future is reserved for mixed populations, while the uncontaminated white castes are to inherit the earth. The Count will soon check any tendency to self-congratulation of that kind. For we read (p. 102) that :

'Our civilization may be compared to the temporary islands thrown up into the sea by submarine volcanoes. They will one day break up, and their fragments will be hurled into the gulf of the all-conquering waves. It is a sad end, and one which many noble races before ourselves have had to meet.'

Truly a dismal prospect, wherein we see little hope. We may not even console ourselves by exulting in the present, or in contemplating the glories of modern civilization, for the latter, said Gobineau, 'excels in practically nothing whatever.'

Gobineau was a pessimist, but if we read him we shall at least decay cheerfully and meet our doom with smiling countenances. Lively imagination and Gallic wit have free play in his pages, where the translator has retained them with no small success. Home-truths of a wholesome corrective order are by no means absent. At the end we wonder whether Count de Gobineau was not one of those to whom both pose and farce are as life itself. However that may be, his German successors (including Houston Chamberlain) have taken him seriously enough.

The Japanese Problem in the United States. An Investigation for the Commission on relations with Japan, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. By H. A. MILLIS, Professor of Economics, University of Kansas. (The Macmillan Co. 1915.) 6s. 6d. net.

THE Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, having appointed a Commission for the investigation of relations

with Japan, took the eminently sound step of seeking an expert to study the life of the Japanese immigrants in the Western States, and to prepare a report upon the conclusions formed in the course of that research. Professor Millis had special qualifications for such a task, and his report is indispensable to those who are interested in the latest developments of immigration problems. Much of the book is however severely statistical, and it will suffice here to note that the Japanese are commended not only for their diligence and thrift but for their honesty. Their alleged tendency to disregard contracts is considered to have been exaggerated. In reference to their manners, Professor Millis, in speaking of the daughters of Japanese parents who had been in America for eleven years, declares that they 'are thoroughly American in every respect save that they are more gracious and more polite than the average native child.'

In discussing the restriction of immigration into America, Professor Millis points out that restriction will or rather should discriminate against the races of South and East Europe, and he suggests that the problems therein involved will become acute when the present war ends. Professor Millis completed his task on December 15, 1914, and the events of the last year will probably tend to emphasize the necessity for taking full account of the source of immigrants in the future.

VII. GENERAL LITERATURE AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Paradise of Dante Alighieri. An Experiment in Literal Verse Translation. By C. L. SHADWELL, D.C.L. With an Introduction by J. W. MACKAIL. (Macmillan. 1915.) 12s. 6d.

DR. SHADWELL'S great and self-imposed task is now completed. He calls it an experiment in literal verse translation, and he is extraordinarily successful in giving us almost a literal rendering of Dante's verse. But we still doubt the fitness of the English quatrain he has chosen. Dr. Shadwell has argued well and ably for it in his rendering of the *Purgatorio*; Mr. Mackail in his beautiful introduction sets forth its merits. But in spite of all that can be said, we doubt if anyone could read this translation of the *Paradiso* through without intense weariness increasing with every Canto. The extraordinary solemnity of certain passages, the lovely cadence of others, does not appear

in the translation, not because Dr. Shadwell does not realize them, but because the metre cannot convey them. Take for instance Canto XIV: Dante describes the mystic circling of Doctors and Theologians and Mystics in the Heaven of the Sun, and Beatrice asks the blessed spirits to inform Dante if in the Resurrection the dazzling light of this sphere (the sun) will still enfold them, and if they see with bodily sight how will they bear it?

' Come da più letizia pinti e tratti
Alla fiata quei che vanno a rota
Levan la voce, e rallegrano gli atti;

' As dancers wheeling in the ring,
Drawn on and pressed by joyous sting
Raise all at once their voice,
And in their *reel* rejoice; (the italics are ours).

Or again a little further on we find these wonderful lines:

' Qual si lamenta perchè qui si moia
Per viver colassù, non vide quive
Lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia.

' Whoso laments that here he die,
Though but to live again on high,
Knows not the freshening power
Of Heaven's eternal shower.

Or for a last quotation:

' Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
Umile ed alta più che creatura
Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio.

' Maid, Mother, daughter of thy Son,
Humble, yet high 'bove everyone,
Predestined to fulfil
The everlasting will.

But for the purpose of helping those who read Dante in the original to understand the extremely difficult *Paradiso*, Dr. Shadwell's rendering may be useful—it is literal and scholarly. We can only admire his patience and learning and industry.

Mr. Mackail's Introduction is, it is almost needless to say, delightful. He says many true words in a perfect manner, but one passage is so true and so full of suggestion we cannot but quote it:

' There are times like the present, when we feel in an increased measure the goodness of looking beyond the shows of the world

and moving (if it be but in a dream or a vision) among the eternal things. Custom, civilisation itself are hung precariously over an abyss of blackness, like a thin crust that may give way : in something greater, beneath and above them, around them and in them, is the only solid base of life, the reality of which life is but a moving shadow.'

The Mellards and their Descendants, including the Bibbys of Liverpool. With Memoirs of Dinah Maria Mulock and Thomas Mellard Reade. By ALEYN LYELL READE. (London : for the Author, at the Arden Press, Norfolk Street, Strand. 1915.)

It is no disparagement to say that privately printed Memoirs appeal as a rule chiefly to the immediate circle of relations and friends for which they were primarily intended, though the book-collector may prize them on account of their scarcity and the curious genealogist or historian for incidental pedigrees or illustrations of life and manners. Mr. Lyell Reade's book however stands somewhat apart from the class to which it would naturally be assigned, since it contains the first memoir of the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman* :

'None of the Mellards,' he says, with engaging frankness, 'ever achieved any kind of fame, and it is only through the female members of the family that the pedigree gains any distinction. It is rather remarkable that, in a small family group where the men displayed no qualities beyond those which gain a middle-class competence, three of the daughters in the same generation should have mothered respectively a distinguished novelist, an original man of science [Thomas Mellard Reade], and a merchant millionaire [James Jenkinson Bibby of Liverpool].'

The author has previously been known mainly as an apparently tireless traveller along by-paths of history, from whose labours many another student can say, like Boswell, 'I derived a considerable accession to my Johnsonian store.' The present work will probably convince anyone who reads it that he also possesses the gift, by no means a common one, of making the lives of many quite ordinary people extraordinarily interesting. The Mellards themselves were a Staffordshire family, perhaps of French origin, whose name is often confused with those of Millard and Mellor, and is therefore exceedingly difficult to trace earlier than the Eighteenth century. Its absence from the indexes of wills proved in the Prerogative Court is perhaps not evidence for more than the fact that their worldly possessions were neither considerable nor scattered, and

the records of Peculiar jurisdictions when these can be recovered often yield unexpected finds. In the early years of the last century began their connexion by marriage with the Bibbys, and also the fortunes of the famous line which in 1839 had grown to a fleet of twelve vessels trading to the East Indies, the largest of them 300 tons. The Mulock connexion began soon after with the marriage of Thomas Mulock, father of the novelist, an Irishman who sought to evangelize the Potteries by methods which were at any rate unusual and language which was strange; and who castigated with a fine impartiality alike his enemies who were many and his friends who were few. Among the latter was numbered William James Reade, who also married a Mellard and lent money with unwearied liberality to Mr. Mulock until finally cast off as 'a blasphemer and the greatest heretic that had arisen since the days of the Apostles' on the ground of a difference of opinion arising out of the subject of the period; scope and end of the sufferings of Job. The story of Dinah Maria Mulock (Mrs. Craik) adds much to Dr. Garnett's account in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and some very necessary corrections to Mrs. Oliphant's descriptions of her home life. Both this and the study of Thomas Mellard Reade, the author's father, a geologist who met with less recognition than he deserved, are full of quiet interest. The latter we regard as the best in the book. There are elaborate pedigrees, and appendices of 'Evidences,' and many excellent reproductions of photographs and pictures.

Memories of a Publisher, 1865-1915. By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, Litt.D., late Brevet Major, 176th Regt. N.Y.S. Vols. (G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916.) 9s. net.

THE earlier fortunes of the famous publishing house of which Dr. Putnam is the head have been told in a previous volume which we have not seen. In the one before us the author continues also the story which he began in 1914 with *Memories of My Youth*, thus uniting the two strands in a way which has enabled him to set down as it best pleased him an account of the world of men and books in which he has himself lived during the last half-century. The result is neither a formal history nor a mere bundle of miscellaneous reminiscences but something between the two, with an Appendix of fifty pages on 'The European War' which contains some exceedingly plain speaking from the point of view of a veteran of the Civil War on the

implications of the German theory of 'frightfulness.' It is singularly unfortunate that we on this side of the Atlantic have so little means of estimating the extent to which the views which Dr. Putnam's letters express are held in the United States, since the cabled news is almost entirely confined to discussions of diplomatic negotiations and surmises as to the fluctuations of opinion in official circles. And it is of considerable importance for the future relations of the two nations that this fact should not be forgotten.

In the parts of the book which deal with the business of a publisher the subject of copyright naturally occupies a prominent place, since it is very largely owing to the efforts of the Putnams, father and son, that there passed into law, after a long struggle, the bill which secured authors against the depredations of 'pirates.' Some of the incidents in the contest are probably more amusing in the light of reflexion than they appeared at the time, even to one who having had Mr. Roosevelt as a partner in the firm was prepared for unconventional surprises. Dr. Putnam's notes upon English publishers are perhaps unduly coloured in regard to his relations with them in early days by the feeling that their sympathies with the South precluded mutual understanding. He certainly writes of them with much less freedom than he does of the authors he has known, including those whom he has endeavoured to beguile into adding to the multitude of books, for their own benefit and that of the world at large. In some cases, like that of York Powell, there are few who will not regret his lack of success; the story is an interesting episode in two very entertaining chapters on his experiences in Oxford and Cambridge where he has been for many years a welcome guest. We feel sure that Dr. Putnam's hosts will readily forgive him if the epithets that he applies to them sometimes provide an occasion of merriment to their friends. There are several slips in matters of detail of no great importance, and one serious omission which we imagine that he will not be allowed to forget if he should be able to revisit them: the father of many books has entirely *praetermitted* the Bodleian and the University Library.

Contemporary municipal politics in the United States, which are chiefly viewed in Europe through the not always transparent medium of widely read novels, receive some very striking illustrations in the account of the working of the Grand Jury System, of the Citizens' Union, and the Civil Service Commission, and in the details of various Presidential Campaigns. It is curious

to contrast some of the experiences with those in a Worcester-shire election of 1887 into which Dr. Putnam was impressed to take a share side by side with the present Lord Chancellor. The result was not a success, for 'the candidate,' he tells us with humour, 'who had secured the help of the Yankee was badly beaten.'

Recollections of a Bishop. By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE (lately Bishop of Bristol). With Portraits. (Smith, Elder, and Co. 1915.) 10s. 6d. net.

To have watched the festivities at the time of the Coronation of Queen Victoria, to have been a colleague of Bright at Glenalmond, a Cambridge Don, secretary of a University Commission, a Professor of Archaeology, Canon of St. Paul's, Bishop Suffragan of Stepney, seventeen years Bishop of Bristol, President of the Alpine Club, and in his eighty-third year to have written one of the most entertaining volumes of reminiscences that have appeared in that period, represents a singular record of achievement; and it is not surprising that many of us find it difficult even now to think of Dr. Browne as *en disponibilité*. It is doing serious injustice to the book to treat it as merely a budget of good stories, though they are certainly many; for it is full of discussions of archaeological and historical interest, of reflexions on men and things usually acute and never unkind, and of studies of development which whether they relate to education or to matters as well ecclesiastical as civil are often of permanent value. One obvious criticism the Bishop discounts beforehand by saying that he knows that 'although the printer's stock of "capital I" has not given out, an indecent amount of it has been used'; and he shews by his readiness to tell a story against himself that if people smile he is quite content to join them in doing so.

The chapter on the Cambridge University Commission of 1877-81 summarizes only too briefly an enormous amount of hard work. The opposition which had to be overcome is aptly represented by the story of the Head of a College who said 'I trust the Commissioners will excuse me for stating it to be my opinion that the present chief want of the University is exemption from the disturbing power of Royal or Parliamentary Commissions.' Its success, in many respects undeniable, was marred in others by the fact that the financial resources of the colleges instead of increasing, as was anticipated, have in several

of them been seriously diminished as the result of agricultural depression. But in any case it has not justified the gloomy forebodings of another Head: 'My heart is very, very sad, well-nigh broken. I could wish myself far away from Cambridge and its imminent evils.'

The archaeological chapters deal with Runic inscriptions, Ogams, Stonehenge, the origin of Anglian art, the Brough Stone, the Bewcastle and other crosses etc. We cannot refrain from quoting a statement given as appended to a sheet of metal with an incised inscription at Bath:

'Read by Professor Sayce as a record of the cure of a Roman lady by the Bath waters, attested by three witnesses; read by Professor Zangermeister as a curse on a man for stealing a table-cloth; by others as a curse on someone for stealing a Roman slave.'

The historical portions range somewhat discursively from early British history to the privileges of the Cinque Ports, the Baptism of Clovis, the status of bishops suffragan, and the position of diocesan bishops in the House of Lords. Interspersed as they are with stories one is tempted to forget how wide a range of interest is displayed in these disquisitions and others connected with liturgical subjects, details of ceremonial and of precedence, the preservation of Cathedral fabrics, faculties and the like. Many of the matters discussed involve questions on which there is room for wide difference of opinion: so far as his own practice is concerned the Bishop indicts himself in one case as an example of lawlessness, but in general he says 'I am convinced that a diocesan bishop does well when he declines to act up to the early mediaeval reputation of the English bishops—*Episcopi Anglicani semper pavidī*.'

For the stories we must refer readers in fairness to the book itself. Some well-known ones receive a much desired evidence of their authenticity, e.g. that as to the 'just beast.' Others will be new to many, e.g. Bishop Stubbs' view of what was required in the way of Revision to bring the Prayer Book into conformity with modern ideas—the alteration of a familiar sentence so as to read 'Ye are to take care that the Bishop be brought to this child to confirm him.' Of secular stories we will only quote the evidence of a Wiltshire witness for the defence, when a prisoner was being tried at Salisbury Assizes for the manslaughter of another whom he had hit ('ut') in a quarrel:

'Me lard, marn's a innercent marn. Like this. E ut e. If e adn't ut e, e'd a ut e. If e'd a ut e, stead of e utn e, e'd a kild e, stead of e kiln e.'

PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. XVII. No. 66. January 1916. Milford). A. Souter: 'The Theological Tractate on the Divinity of the Son, from Paris MS B.N. Lat. 653' (Text). F. C. Burkitt: (1) 'Augustine-Fragments from the Cairo Genizah' (Cambridge University Library, Add. 4320 a, b, c, d. Sixth Cent. Migne *P.L.* xxxiv 1300, 1307f, 1308; xxxviii 671f); (2) 'W and Θ: Studies in the Western Text of St. Mark. II. "Hosanna."' W. E. Barnes: 'Textual Criticism of the O.T. An Instance (Ps. xcvi 11).' G. W. Butterworth: 'The Deification of Man in Clement of Alexandria.' J. Moffatt: 'Aristotle and Tertullian.' H. G. E. White: 'A Liturgical Fragment from Thebes' (Saec. VII). A. Cowley: 'The Meaning of Māqôm in Hebrew.' V. Burch: 'Two Notes on Euthalius of Sulci.' C. Steenbuch: 'Evst. 236 (Scrivener 229)' (Sion Coll. London, Saec. xiii-xiv. Contents and Collation). H. F. Stewart: 'Foakes-Jackson (and others) *The Faith and the War*' (6 pp.); 'Swete *The Holy Catholic Church*'; 'Pearce William of Colchester, Abbot of Westminster.' F. R. Tennant: 'Balfour Theism and Humanism' (6 pp.); 'Bp. of Down *God and Freedom in Human Experience*' (4 pp.); 'Spens *Belief and Practice*' (6½ pp.). H. L. Jackson: 'Rawlinson *Dogma, Fact and Experience*.' J. F. B[ethune]-B[aker]: 'E. G. Selwyn *The Teaching of Christ*'; 'A. W. Robinson *Christ and the Church*' (critical). F. E. Brightman: 'Lawlor *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*.' C. H. W. Johns: 'Ungnad *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period*'; 'Langdon *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, The Flood and the Fall of Man*'; 'Chiera *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur*'; 'G. A. Barton *Sumerian Business and Administrative Documents*'; 'Langdon *Historical Religious Texts from Nippur*.'

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. XIV. No. 2. January 1916. Williams and Norgate). Count Goblet d'Alviella: 'On some Moral Aspects and Issues of the Present War.' Sir F. Pollock, Bart.: 'The "Fight for Right" Movement.' Bishop of Carlisle: 'Against Departmental Religion.' A. S. Pringle-Pattison: 'Mr. Balfour's "Theism and Humanism."' G. A. Mercier: 'Vitalism.' G. T. Ladd: 'The Human Mind *versus* the German Mind.' M. E. Robinson: 'The Definite Failure of Christianity, and how it might be retrieved.' W. Adams Brown: 'Is Christianity practicable?' E. Armitage: 'The Incompetence of the Mere Scholar to interpret Christianity.' C. Hargrove: 'The Warlike Context of the Gospels.' C. R. Ashbee: 'Quality *versus* Quantity as the Standard of Industry and Life.' J. Y. Simpson: 'Religion in Russia To-day.' R. H. Law: 'Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism. A Study of Past Efforts and Present Tendencies.' Discussions. G. Dawes Hicks: 'Survey of Recent Philosophical Literature.' J. Moffatt: 'Survey of Recent Theological Literature.' R. P. Farley: 'A Social Survey. Towards Reconstruction.' H. W. Garrod: 'Younghusband *Mutual Influence. A Re-view of Religion*.' E. Lewis: 'Cohu *Vital Problems of Religion*.' E. A. Gardner: 'A. B. Cook *Zeus*.' T. P. Nunn: 'Keyser *Science and Religion and The New Infinite and the Old Theology*.' J. M. Thompson: 'Illingworth *The Gospel Miracles*.' G. E. French: 'P. Gardner *The Ephesian Gospel*.' M. Hartog: 'Reinheimer *Symbiogenesis, the Universal Law of Progressive Evolution*.' H. C. Corrance: 'Handley *Theological Room*.'

The Irish Church Quarterly (Vol. IX. No. 33. January 1916. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis). M. Sullivan: 'The Continuity of the Anglican Church.' G. F. Hamilton: 'Confirmation and the Eucharist in the Odes of Solomon,' II. F. C. Long: 'Miracles.' R. T. Byrn: 'Creative

Limitations.' Ven. W. M. Foley (Archdeacon of Ardfert): 'Teleology.' 'Hamilton The People of God.' E. J. Y[oung]: 'J. G. Simpson *What is the Gospel?*' N. J. D. W[hite]: 'E. A. Abbott *The Fourfold Gospel*, III.' 'Sinkler *The Holy Communion*.' 'Moore *Burdy's Life of Philip Skelton*.' 'McNeile *St. Matthew*.' 'Cohen *Jewish Life in Modern Times*.'

The Dublin Review (Vol. CLVIII. No. 316. January 1916. Burns and Oates). W. Ward: 'Bishop Hedley.' 'German Catholics and the War.' Very Rev. Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C.: 'A Plea for Nationalism.' T. J. Gerrard: 'Art after the War.' B. Holland: 'Aristocracy.' E. S. Bruce: 'The Use of Aircraft in the Present War.' Sir G. S. Baker, Bart.: 'Catholicism and International Law.' J. Rickaby, S.J.: 'The Gifford Lectures of Mr. Balfour.' W. Barry: 'Before the Hierarchy.' S. F. Smith: 'The Eastern Churches and the War.' 'Belloc *Lingard's History of England*, XI.' 'Lipson *Introduction to the Economic History of England*, I.' 'Thornton *Conduct and the Supernatural*' (favourable). 'Spens *Belief and Practice*' ('elaborate and verbose obscurity'). [Sir] B. C. A. W[indle]: 'E. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life*'; 'Joly *Birth Time of the World*.' 'Maguire *Is Schism Lawful, A Study in Primitive Ecclesiology*.' 'O'Dwyer *Confirmation, a Study in the Development of Sacramental Theology*' ('Consignation has been substituted for the Apostolic imposition'). 'Ellerker *Master, where dwellest Thou?*' ('of rare and exceptional worth'). 'E. Hutton *Attila and the Huns*.' 'Soloviev *War and Christianity*.'

The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. XI. No. 41. January 1916. Dublin: Gill). G. Pierse: 'Catholicism and Culture.' D. J. O'Doherty: 'Irish Augustinians in Spain and the Philippines.' M. J. O'Donnell: 'Quasi-domicile. Historical Development of the Idea.' H. Pope: 'Origen and the Biblical Question.' J. MacCaffrey: 'The Position of Irish Catholics under James I.' J. MacCaffrey: 'Gleeson *Ancient Ormond*.' 'B. Ward *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation*.' 'Concannon *Life of St. Columban*.' 'M. L. C. *Our Great Consoler in Life and Death*.' M. J. O'Donnell: 'J. H. Williams *The New Pelagianism*'; 'H. Thurston: *The Memory of our Dead*.' J. Blowick: 'Finlay *The Church of Christ*.' M. Eaton: 'The *Armagh Hymnal*' (critical). G. Pierse: 'Hugon *La Sainte Eucharistie*' ('comprehensive and excellent').

The London Quarterly Review (No. 249. January 1916. Kelly). W. T. Davison: 'God and the World. A Theodicy.' S. Graham: 'Russia's Religion of Suffering.' C. Kernahan: 'Why Theodore Watts-Dunton published only Two Books.' W. J. Moulton: 'Old Testament Ideals of War and Peace.' F. W. O. Ward: 'The Fallacy of Non-resistance.' M. F. Billington: 'Woman's Share in the War's Work.' A. E. Garvie: 'Gethsemane and Calvary. "Good Thoughts for Bad Times."'. J. A. Beet: 'A Century of Progress.' S. Andrew: 'The Judgement of Common Sense.' R. A. Ellis: 'The Insects' Homer' (J. H. Fabre). J. Telford: 'Cameron *The Renaissance of Jesus*.' 'Thornton *Conduct and the Supernatural*.' 'Swete *The Holy Catholic Church*.' 'Temple *Church and Nation*' (critical). 'Tuckwell *Religion and Reality*.' 'Browne *Recollections of a Bishop*.' 'Wedgwood *Personal Life of Josiah Wedgwood the Potter*.' 'Rothery *A.B.C. of Heraldry*' (favourable). 'Boreham *Mushrooms on the Moor*' (Essays).

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XX. No. 1. January 1916. Chicago University Press). A. Bertholet: 'The Pre-Christian Belief in the Resurrection of the Body.' R. E. Hume: 'Hinduism and War.' A. H. Lloyd: 'Incarnation. An Essay in Three Parts.' A. C. Watson: 'The Logic of Religion.' C. S. Patton: 'Miracles and the Modern Preacher.' J. M. P. Smith: 'Gressman *Die Schriften des A.T.*, 25-32.' 'Buhl *Gesenius' hebräisches u. aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das A.T.*' (16th edit.) E. J. Goodspeed: 'Diobouniotis u. Harnack *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*'; 'Ganschietz *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier*'; 'Haase *Literarkritische Untersuchungen*

zur orientalistisch-apokryphen Evangelienliteratur'; 'Harnack Die Entstehung des N.T.'; 'Hubik Die Apologien des Hl. Justinus des Philosophen u. Märtyrers'; 'Rackl Die Christologie des hl. Ignatius von Antiochien.' C. H. Moehlmann: 'Goodspeed Die ältesten Apologeten.' H. B. Robins: 'Stalker Christian Psychology.' O. C. Helming: 'K. Meyer Kirche, Volk u. Staat'; 'Carey My Priesthood.' A. Hoben: 'Hodges Faith and Social Service'; 'Strayer The Reconstruction of the Church'; 'Vedder The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy.' A. W. Cooke: 'Hartland Ritual and Belief'; 'D. C. Owen The Infancy of Religion' (critical). R. E. Hume: 'Farquhar Modern Religious Movements in India.' W. E. Clark: 'Davids Buddhist Psychology.' U. Kawaguchi: 'Armstrong Studies in Japanese Confucianism.' 'Parker Dissenting Academies in England.' 'Mason The Church of England and Episcopacy.' 'Söderblom Natürliche Theologie.' 'Garbe Indien u. das Christentum.'

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. XIV. No. 1. January 1916. Princeton University Press). G. Vos: 'Hebrews, the Epistle of the Diatheke' (61 pp.) R. E. Speer: 'Points of Contact with Christianity in the Heresies of Siamese Buddhism.' F. L. Patton: 'A Theological Seminary.' J. R. Stevenson: 'Theological Education in the Light of Present Day Demands.' W. L. McEwan: 'The Qualifications of a Preacher.' J. R. Smith: 'The Place of Homiletics in the Training of the Minister.' W. H. Johnson: 'Brewster The Philosophy of Faith.' W. B. Greene, jr.: 'F. L. Strickland Foundations of Christian Belief' (5½ pp.). 'Mains Divine Inspiration.' C. W. Hodge: 'W. Herrmann Die Wirklichkeit Gottes.' J. D. Davis: 'Buttenwieser The Prophets of Israel from the Eighth to the Fifth Century' (4 pp.). G. Vos: 'Oesterley The Books of the Apocrypha'; 'Carré Paul's Doctrine of Redemption.'

The Review and Expositor (Vol. XIII. No. 1. January 1916. Louisville, Ky. London: 4 Southampton Row, W.C.). H. W. Clark: 'False Mysticism and Christianity.' O. O. Fletcher: 'The Existence of God. A Study of the Religious Consciousness.' W. T. Conner: 'The Formal Factor in Christianity.' J. W. Weddell: 'The Savor of Evangelicalism.' W. W. Everts: 'Adolph Schlatter on Three Types of Theology.' N. J. Mecklem: 'Did Jesus Repent?' (St. Matt. iii 1, 2, 11, 13-16). G. R. Berry: 'The Purpose of the Book of Ecclesiastes.' C. S. Gardner: 'Blacmar and Gillen Outlines of Sociology.' W. O. Carver: 'Wister The Pentecost of Calamity'; 'C. H. Robinson History of Christian Missions' (very critical); 'Balfour Theism and Humanism'; 'Illingworth The Gospel Miracles'; 'G. T. Ladd What may I hope?' C. B. Williams: 'Carroll The Pastoral Epistles.' A. T. Robertson: 'McNeile St. Matthew.' E. Y. Mullins: 'Die Wahrheit des Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis. Von Zwölf deutschen Theologen'; 'Slattery The Light Within'; 'Bousset Jüdisch-Christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria u. Rom.' W. J. McGlothlin: 'Hodges Henry Codman Potter, Seventh Bishop of New York' (favourable). *The Jewish Quarterly Review* (Vol. VI. No. 3. January 1916. Philadelphia: Dropsie College. London: Macmillan). S. T. H. Hurwitz: 'Pygmy-legends in Jewish Literature.' H. Hirschfeld: 'Fragments of Sa'adyāh's Arabic Pentateuch Commentary' (Hebrew Text and Translation from MS Brit. Mus. Or. 5562, MS Bodl. 2862: 28). A. Mingana: 'Syriac Versions of the O.T.' S. Daiches: 'An Explanation of Isaiah xxvii 8.' I. Friedlaender: 'The Present Position and the Original Form of the Prophecy of Eternal Peace in Isaiah ii 1-5 and Micah iv 1-5.' J. Mann: 'Jesus and the Sadducean Priests, Luke x 25-37.' A. Marx: 'Strack Ausgewählte Misnatraktate. Pirke Aboth. Berakoth' (9 pp.) B. Halper: 'Recent Arabic Literature.' J. Reider: 'Brüne Flavius Josephus u. seine Schriften.'

The Theological Study (Vol. VII. No. 2. December 1915. Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 15 Owaricho Ni-chome, Kyobashi). G. Kato: 'Light and Love in the Idea of God, Past and Present.' S. Miyamoto: 'Lao-tze

and the Cosmological and Anthropological Meaning of his Tao.' S. Kojima: 'Theology and Myth an Epistemological Inquiry.' 'The Sumerian Tablet of the University of Pennsylvania.' K. Itoh: 'Prof. Cornill on the Rise of Israel.' 'Reid *Jesus and Paul in Modern Criticism*.' 'Politeyan *Biblical Discoveries in Egypt*.' 'Lidgett *God in Jesus Christ*.' 'Webb *Studies in the History of Natural Theology*.' 'Hughes *Theology of Experience*.' 'Langham *Supreme Quest*.' 'Lagarde *The Latin Church in the Middle Ages*.' 'Robinson *History of Christian Missions*.' 'Bishop *The Religion of Russia*.' 'Kato *Psychology of Oriental Religious Experience*.' 'Bax *The German Culture*.'

The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 61-3. January-March 1916. Hodder and Stoughton). W. A. Curtis: 'The New Testament and its Interpretation in our Time. A Definition of N.T. Criticism.' M. Jones: 'Dr. Kirsopp Lake on the "Stewardship of Faith,"' I (II. Feb.) J. M. Thompson: 'The Composition of the Fourth Gospel.' A. E. Garvie: 'The Judgment in the Fourth Gospel.' W. E. Beet: 'The Map as an Aid to the Preaching of O.T.' W. F. Lofthouse: 'The Mosaic Codes and Popular Hebrew Religion.' February. H. R. Mackintosh: 'The Vicarious Penitence of Christ.' H. A. A. Kennedy: 'The New Testament Metaphor of the Messianic Bridal.' J. B. McClellan: 'Redemption, Salvation, and Atonement in the Old and New Testaments.' J. Moffatt: 'A Popular Text' (Tit. iii 10-11). J. E. McFadyen: 'The Mosaic Origin of the Decalogue. I. The Ritual Decalogue. II. Egyptian and Babylonian Parallels to the Ethical Decalogue.' (March. III. The 'Original Form of the Decalogue. IV. Can the Original Form of the Decalogue be Mosaic?') March. J. E. McFadyen: 'Isaiah and War.' Rendel Harris: 'Who sent Apollos to Corinth?' A. van Hoonacker: 'The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah xl ff.' T. H. Robinson: 'A Study in Inverted Commas' (Quotations in N.T. writers). B. H. Tower: 'St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. A Paraphrase.'

The Expository Times (Vol. XXVII. Nos. 4-6. January-March 1916. T. and T. Clark). H. M. Hughes: 'Anti-Zealotism in the Gospels.' S. H. Langdon: 'The Sumerian Epic of the Fall of Man.' J. B. Russell: 'The Object of the Fourth Gospel.' R. M. Pope: 'Studies in Pauline Vocabulary. Of Hyperbole.' A. Jones: '"Resurrection."' T. Stephenson: 'Doubting Thomas.' H. G. Grey and W. T. Whitley: 'Psalm cxxi 1.' G. H. Whitaker: 'Hebrews xi 27.' J. Hastings: 'Cameron *The Renascence of Jesus*.' 'Graham *War from the Quaker Point of View*.' 'Keyser *Science and Religion*.' 'Foakes-Jackson *The Faith and the War*.' 'T. M. Lindsay *College Addresses and Sermons*.' 'Sykes *The Caliph's Last Heritage*.' 'Watson *Life of Bishop John Wordsworth*.' 'L. W. King *History of Babylonia and Assyria*.' 'Moulton and Milligan *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*.' 'Herman *Meaning and Value of Mysticism*.' 'Waite *The Way of Divine Union*.' February. A. Plummer: 'Christian Agnosticism.' Lady Ramsay: '"Her that kept the Door."' J. Beveridge: 'The Sun Song of Iceland.' R. H. Strachan: 'Is the Fourth Gospel a Literary Unity?' II (III. March). D. Connor: 'John xii 47, 48.' C. H. Parez: 'The Eschatology of Christ.' J. Hastings: 'Hutchinson *From Doubt to Faith*.' 'H. R. Mackintosh *Immortality and the Future*.' 'Leaf *Homer and History*.' 'Hines *The Red Indians of the Plains*.' 'D'Olivet *Hermeneutic Interpretations of the Origin of the Social State of Man*.' 'Zwemer *Mohammed or Christ*.' 'J. E. Adams *The Chaplain and the War*.' March. G. Jackson: 'The Bookshelf by the Fire. George Herbert's "Country Parson."' H. A. A. Kennedy: 'The Alleged Paulinism of 1 Peter.' W. Hamilton: 'The Faith of God' [Rom. iii 8]. A. W. Taggart: 'St. Mark viii 24.' J. Willcock: 'Candlesticks' (Rev. i). D. Connor: 'Did Uzzah die by Lightning?' (2 Sam. vi 3-11). J. Hastings: 'Sub *Corona*' (Aberdeen University Sermons); 'J. D. Jones *The Great Here-*

after'; 'Kaye A Substitute for War.' 'Ady Journals of Lady Knightley of Fawsley.' 'E. J. Kennedy With the Immortal Seventh Division.' 'Hodges H. C. Potter, Seventh Bishop of New York.' 'Oliver Ordeal by Battle.' 'Jastrow Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria.'

The English Church Review (Vol. VII. Nos. 73-75. January-March 1916. Longmans). 'The Archbishop of Melbourne on Reunion' (Synod Address, Oct. 1915). J. P. Whitney: 'The Episcopate at the Reformation,' II (III. Feb. IV. March). H. U. Whelpton: 'The Sacrament of Penance,' II (III. Feb. IV. March). 'Christian Doctrine and Prayer for the Departed.' W. J. Sparrow Simpson: (1) 'Montalembert,' II; (2) 'The Protestant Conception of the Church. Stahl. 1865' (Feb. 'The Discussion between Möhler and Baur'). N. Figgis: 'The Olympian Attitude.' G. E. Hodgson: 'The Parting of the Ways.' 'Grisar Luther, I-II.' 'Germany in the XIXth Century, series I-II.' February. R. E. Roberts: 'Francis Thompson.' 'A Scottish Bishop in 1800' (John Skinner). 'Watson Life of Bishop John Wordsworth.' 'Dearmer False Gods.' W. J. Sparrow Simpson: 'On the Use of the Term "Valid."' March. V. S. Coles: 'Recent Controversies from the Point of View of an old Member of the E.C.U.' Hon. A. F. A. Hanbury-Tracy: 'Reservation of the Sacrament, and the Bishops.' 'The Meaning of Death.' W. J. Sparrow Simpson: 'Religions classified by their Theory of Reconciliation.' 'The Importance of Dogma.' 'Divorce versus Democracy.' 'Bp. Brent The Inspiration of Responsibility.' W. J. Sparrow Simpson: 'Birkbeck The Russian Church.'

The Churchman (Vol. XXX. Nos. 122-123. February-March 1916. R. Scott). Bishop of Chelmsford: '"The Ambassador of Christ."' L. G. Buchanan: 'The Spiritual Problems of the Great War. I. The Call of the War.' R. M. Wilson: 'The Reformers and the Communion Service.' S. R. Cambie: 'George Wither of Bentworth' (1588-1667). H. A. Wilson: 'Kikuyu, and our Relations with Nonconformists.' T. W. Gilbert: 'The Atonement in the Writings of St. John, II (III. March).' J. T. Inskip: 'Headlam Miracles of the N.T.' 'Temple Church and Nation.' 'Compston and Lester Lessons on Celebrities of Hebrew Story.' 'Hewlett Sound Doctrine' [Calvinism]. 'Bardsley and Rogers Studies in Revival.' March. Right Rev. H. E. Ryle: '"As our Hope is."' (Sermon). A. Plummer: 'The War and the Other World. I. Introductory.' F. R. M. Hitchcock: 'The Resurrection of the Body.' S. H. Gem: 'Richard Hooker and the Holy Communion.' E. M. Knox: 'The Romance of the Catechism.' 'Watson Life of Bishop John Wordsworth.' K. E. Khodadad: 'Abbott *Miscellanea Evangelica*, II'; 'Mozley The Christian Hope in the Apocalypse.' W. S. Hooton: 'Mozley The Doctrine of the Atonement.' 'Thirtle The Lord's Prayer' ('monumental').

The Catholic World (Vol. CII. Nos. 610-12. January-March 1916. New York: 120-122 West 60th Street). S. A. Parker: 'John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B.' E. T. Shanahan: 'The Genesis of Kant's Criticism.' K. Brégy: 'Straws and Cannon-Balls. Impressions of some recent Poetry and Drama.' T. G. Duffy: 'My Chalice indeed.' W. H. Kent: 'Religion and Literature in War Time.' J. J. Walsh: 'Andrew J. Shipman.' J. V. McKee: 'The Gary System.' T. J. Brennan: 'Manners and Religion.' 'Lingard-Belloc History of England, I-XI.' 'Driscoll Pragmatism and the Problem of the Idea.' 'Petre Reflections of a Non-Combatant.' February. M. Bateman: 'The Catholic View in Modern Fiction.' E. Colby: 'Saloniki. Where St. Paul Preached.' T. McMillan: 'The Catholic Summer School, 1892-1916.' E. T. Shanahan: 'Putting an End to Skepticism.' J. Kilmer: 'Loinel Johnson,' I (II. March). R. F. O'Connor: 'The Centenary of the Oblates.' 'Jastrow The Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria.' 'Thureau-Dangin The English Catholic Revival in the XIXth Century [E.T.].' 'B. Ward The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation.' March. L. E. Bellanti: 'The Mystical

Body of Christ.' E. T. Shanahan: 'Immanence and Religion.' J. J. O'Gorman: 'Ontario's Pioneer Priest. A Tercentenary' (J. Le Caron). D. A. Lord: 'G. B. Shaw.' T. Walsh: 'The Poets of 1915.' C. H. McCarthy: 'National Preparedness as illustrated by American History.' J. V. McKee: 'The Latin American Congress.' Comtesse de Courson: 'Some Young Men of France.' 'Engelheart Missions and Missionaries of California, I-IV.' 'A. T. Robertson Grammar of the Greek N.T.' (laudatory). 'Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. *The Romanticism of St. Francis.*' 'Millis *The Japanese Problem in the United States*' ('important'). 'Kelley *Modern Industry.*'

The English Historical Review (Vol. XXXI. No. 121. January 1916. Longmans). R. L. Poole: 'The See of Maurienne and the Valley of Susa.' W. A. Morris: 'The Office of Sheriff in the Anglo-Saxon Period.' M. D. George: 'Notes on the Origin of the Declared Account.' W. F. Reddaway: 'King Christian VII.' A. E. Levett: 'The Summons to a Great Council, 1213.' J. G. Edwards: 'The Early History of the Counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan.' H. M. Cam: 'The Legend of the Incendiary Birds.' W. E. Lunt: 'Collectors' Accounts for the Clerical Tenth levied in England by Order of Nicholas IV.' F. J. Tanqueray: 'The Conspiracy of Thomas Dunheved, 1327.' W. H. B. Bird: 'The Peasant Rising of 1381. The King's Itinerary.' C. L. Kingsford: 'Robert Bale, the London Chronicler.' E. Neale: 'The Lord Keeper's Speech to the Parliament of 1592-3.' C. A. J. Skeel: 'The Letter-book of a Quaker Merchant, 1756-8' (Camb. Univ. Lib. Robert Plumsted of Gracechurch Street, London). T. W. Arnold: 'P. M. Sykes *History of Persia.*' E. W. Brooks: 'Kulakovskiy *Istoriya Vizantii*, III (602-717)' (4 pp. critical). C. H. Haskins: 'Marx Guillaume de Jumièges *Gesta Normannorum Ducum.*' G. Lapsley: 'Round *The Great Roll of the Pipe*, 1185-6.' J. Tait: 'W. W. Seton *New Sources for the Life of Blessed Agnes of Bohemia.*' H. E. Salter: 'Giuseppi and Jenkinson *Chertsey Cartularies*, I' (critical). E. W. Watson: 'Thompson *Visitations of Religious Houses*, I. 1420-36' (6 pp.) A. F. Pollard: 'Lomas *State Papers, Foreign*, 1583-4.' J. B. Black *Elizabeth and Henry IV.* W. Hunt: 'C. N. Dalton *Life of Thomas Pitt.*' Sir A. W. Ward: 'Satow *The Silesian Loan and Frederick the Great*.' G. M. Priest *Germany since 1740.* N. Forbes: 'Lord Eversley *The Partitions of Poland*' ('a really good book'); 'N. Hill *Poland and the Polish Question*' ('courageous and creditable'). J. H. Rose: 'Corbett *Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer.*' H. Bradley: 'Wiener *The Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents.*' J. N. Figgis: 'H. A. Smith *The Law of Associations, Corporate and Unincorporate.*' H. E. D. Blakiston: 'Archaeologia Aeliana, XI-XII.' Dowling and Fletcher *Hellenism in England* ('an excellent little book'). H. E. E[ngerton]: 'E. B. Russell *American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council*' ('very learned and exhaustive'). W. H. F[rere]: 'Colligan *Eighteenth Century Nonconformity.*' 'Salter *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist* [Oxford], I.' R. L. P[oole]: 'C. Gross *Sources and Literature of English History to 1485*, new edit.' (laudatory).

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Prose Works of Joseph Addison.' 'The British Government and War.' 'The Danish Agreement and the Feeding of Germany.'

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